













# THE OLD WHALING DAYS

A HISTORY  
OF SOUTHERN NEW ZEALAND  
FROM 1830 TO 1840.

BY

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OTHER WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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- "THE OUTLOOK OF OUR SECONDARY SCHOOLS" (1893) ;  
"FORESTRY IN ITS RELATION TO THE FARMER" (1903) ;  
"MURIHIKU : SOME OLD TIME EVENTS" (1904) ;  
"MURIHIKU AND THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS" (1907) ;  
"THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NEW ZEALAND," Vol. I. (1908).  
"MURIHIKU" (1909).  
"THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NEW ZEALAND," Vol. II. (in the  
press).

## INTRODUCTION.

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The Introduction written for the earlier work of "Murihiku" renders quite unnecessary here a detailed explanation of the method adopted by the Author to collect New Zealand history and to piece it together into the form of a narrative. There are, however, some things connected with the work which it would be well to refer to.

The period, 1830 to 1840, dealt with in this book, includes five years already covered in "Murihiku." Since 1909, when that book was written, the Author has taken another tour round the World, visiting old sources of information and tapping fresh ones, with results so successful that he feels no hesitation in going back to 1830, and, at the risk of some duplication, covering the last five years of "Murihiku" again. Apart from this, the year 1830 is the natural beginning of any work professing to deal with the bay whaling period of Southern New Zealand's history, and it is that period we are dealing with.

In 1829, sealing had died away to very small proportions, and from 1830 onwards, only a few of the smaller craft carried on that occupation; for the rest, the work was confined to the "off" season work of some of the shore whaling parties. The branch of whaling which followed the sealing was the bay whaling, commenced by the open sea whaling merchants of Sydney and Hobart Town, on vessels anchored in the Southern bays, and from stations established ashore. Later on, the English, the American, the French, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, in the order named, entered the trade. Of these, only the English (from Sydney), and the Americans, conducted operations from the shore. None of these fleets have ever had their doings recorded before, although there are one or two French



works referring to the operations of individual vessels, and explaining the procedure adopted on board their fleets.

The great bulk of the information made use of in this book is obtained from newspapers published contemporaneously with the happening of the events, and at the ports of the countries from which they set out. The material for these reports was obtained then, as now, by reporters interviewing the officers on the return of the ships. Sometimes valuable information of the vessel's experiences was obtained, at other times only details of the "catch"; whatever the information was, it has been utilized by the Author.

In connection with the American whalers, another source of information has proved valuable. Great numbers of their logs have been preserved, and have been examined by the Author in the libraries of the Historical Societies which flourish up and down the eastern coast of the United States, from Salem to Washington. The best log found—that of the *Mary Mitchell*, in the rooms of the Nantucket Historical Society—has been published as an Appendix, and its perusal should prove extremely interesting. It is, however, unique among logs, because, when the whaling trade grew to huge dimensions in the United States, men of little education obtained commands, and their entries were often exhausted, when the weather, the position of the vessel, and the number of whales killed, had been recorded.

These logs are not confined to public Institutions. Collectors, many of whom are descendants of old whalers, have some in their private libraries, and those whom the Author had the pleasure of interviewing, always gave him a ready permission to copy what he pleased. The whalers of New Bedford and the other Eastern Ports made their country famous, and their descendants, many of whom are among the leaders of America to-day, are justly proud of the doings of their forefathers who scoured the seas with American whalers. It is strange, but yet true, that no logs belonging to the vessels of the other fleets have yet been unearthed by the Author.

Outside of newspaper references and ships' logs, a great quantity of information has been obtained from manuscripts which have never yet "caught the eye" of the printer. These are found in the form of Reports sent to London by the Governor of New South Wales, correspondence in the Customs Office in London, from Collectors of Customs in Sydney and other parts of the World, and scraps of letters and nondescript documents which have been saved from the fire, and, on account of their age, have found a haven of refuge with collectors. Customs entries all over the World also give their quota of information. Last, but not least, it should be mentioned that the French and Portuguese whaling trade was subsidised by the Governments of these countries, and a great deal of official correspondence was the result. In the case of France, a corvette was sent to these waters to keep watch over the whalers, and the reports of the Commander give us the very best material for our purpose. Much, however, remains to be done in the way of investigating the material which comes under this last heading, and the Author hopes that a course, which he has mapped out for himself in the immediate future, will enable that work to be overtaken.

The reader will understand that the title is descriptive of the period, rather than of the subjects dealt with. All historical events during that period, so far as they are known, are dealt with. One exception must be mentioned. No attempt is made to deal with Native history, and the Maoris are referred to only in so far as they are found to come in contact with Europeans and European trade, and, at times, mention has to be made of some of their history to explain their presence. On occasions for the latter, the Author has taken advantage of the good nature of Messrs. S. Percy Smith of New Plymouth, formerly Surveyor-General, and Mr. W. H. Skinner, of Blenheim, Commissioner of Crown Lands, students of that branch of New Zealand history, and their material is, in all cases, acknowledged in the text. Both gentlemen inform the Author, that great numbers of the dates of events herein



given have been found by them of great value in fixing, for their own works on the Maori, dates impossible to obtain by Maori tradition. The Author, however, lays no claim to a knowledge of Maori history; that is a field of work of its own, and is being well explored by many competent Maori scholars.

In no case is material employed to construct the narrative, if obtained by word of mouth. To connect events merely, such is sometimes utilized, and stories are sometimes repeated to lighten the narrative, but in such cases their traditional source is always indicated. No person has a greater opinion, than has the Author, of the value of stories of by-gone days, told by persons who themselves took part in them, and no one has listened to them longer, nor with greater interest; but this work is not their place. The Author's fondest hopes will be disappointed, and his best efforts will have failed, if there is found an earlier version of any incident recorded in these pages, which are intended to give to the historian, or to any one else who wants to use them to record fact or create fiction, absolutely the earliest attainable version of the incidents chronicled. The same ever present desire to secure the truth condemns to the waste-paper basket all modern references to events where the authority is not given, and, even where given, the original authority, and only after proper examination, alone is quoted. While the Author recognises the superiority of the trained mind of the old Maori over the untrained one of the modern Pakeha, both are treated alike. No offence is intended, but all must understand that the Author is not engaged in bringing out a New Zealand version of "Wilson's Tales of the Borders."

The grouping and arranging of the material is a matter about which great difference of opinion must exist. The plan adopted is not put forward as the best, but rather as following the lines of least resistance. As obtained on research, the material is essentially scrappy, coming from any of the many sources described, at Hobart, Sydney, an American Port, London, or Paris. At the New Zealand



end we have a further division according to the class of trade—whaling, sealing, flax, &c.—and we have also the portion of the country where the incidents took place. The vessels which traded with and through Foveaux Strait seldom went to Cook Strait; there was a clearly-defined line between the trade which passed through these two waterways. The very fact that Foreign nations took part in our trade has imported another complication into the narrative. Dominating all this we have the further fact that the New Zealander who is in Otago is more interested in the early history of his own province, than in that of Banks Peninsula or Port Underwood, and vice versa. All these conflicting elements are sought to be reconciled by the scheme adopted, which brings along, in parallel chapters, the northern and southern trade over periods of years which the Author tries to find something in common in, and, where the information centring around one incident permits of it, places that incident in a chapter by itself.

The method in which the material is supplied to the reader may cause some comment, and it is desirable, therefore, that the Author's ideas should be known. Except in very few cases, the material herein contained is not available outside this book at all, and the central idea underlying the work is to enable the reader to obtain the most accurate version of every incident recorded, and to record all incidents. The publication of Historical Records does not supply the want, as they only reproduce documents of an official nature, while a myriad of details, each small in itself, characterises New Zealand history. The publication of the Author's paraphrase of the material would rob the events of that accuracy which is the feature of many of the rough unlettered accounts of the principals, and would never prove the last word on the question. The Author's scheme is a middle course; he adheres as closely as he can to the original narrative, and eliminates, as much as he can, his own view from the book. The reader is given the results of the Author's research, not the fruits of his thought. With New Zealand's early history in the

condition it is, there is a life's work along the lines of unearthing it. Others who can make historical narrative attractive can build what literary edifices they desire, out of the material supplied. This plan may truly be said to fall short, equally of a record as of a narrative. If it did not do so it would have few to read it as a record, and fewer still to credit it as a narrative. In the form it is presented it is believed to be sufficiently near to its original form to be quoted as a record, and sufficiently connected in chronological order to be read as a narrative.

The chapters on special subjects are themselves of special interest. The brig *Elizabeth* incident has been told and retold many times, but always founded on the Maori version, where, of course, the opposing sides make the story fit in with the necessity of proving their side in the right. The version here given is based upon the evidence at the Preliminary Inquiry, held in Sydney within a few weeks of the happening of the event itself. This evidence was sent to England in 1831, and in 1909 was unearthed in the Record Office, London, by the Author. Other material from the Hobart Town papers and Customs Records of that date is added. So valuable were the English documents considered that they were published in full in the Appendices. The Defence of Nga-Motu was an unexpected find in an extremely rare paper—the "Sydney Monitor"—of the year 1833. The only previously known account, anything like contemporaneous, was given by Polack, five years later. A glance at these "letters" will show that we have discovered Polack's authority, and given by the best of all writers—an eye witness. The Rescue of the *Harriett's* crew contains all previously written on the subject, together with extracts from the *Alligator's* log, and Sydney interviews with the rescued men. It was in the *Alligator's* log that the Author found particulars of the number of cannon shots fired into the pa; and the names of the rescued sailors were obtained from the discharge sheets, where are entered the names of all men taken on board, and their formal discharge at the end of their journey. There also

were obtained the names of the Maori Chiefs. Palmer's Trial in Sydney for manslaughter, for rope-ending a lad at Preservation Inlet in 1836, is of special interest to readers in Otago, where Palmer, and his partner "Johnny" Jones, spent the declining years of their lives.

The Appendices are important documents upon which some portions of the narrative have been based, and they are published at the end of the work, to enable the reader, should he so desire, to follow up the subject, or to check any of the Author's conclusions. In no case, except that of the *Harriett*, is the document known to have appeared in print before, and all have been unearthed by the Author, and permission obtained by him for their reproduction here.

The Treaty of Waitangi, and the Proclamation of British Sovereignty in New Zealand, ends the period of the Author's research work. After that date New Zealand history can be written from the Records in this country, as all the Institutions of civilization, then set up, have perpetuated for the student the material he is in search of. For the period which the Author has selected, the World outside New Zealand alone can supply the material, and, up to the present, the search has had to be prosecuted by the Author alone. This feature of a history long anterior to the establishment of law and order is peculiar to New Zealand, of all the Australasian Colonies. With the exception of stray visits of Dutch, Spanish and English vessels, Australia knows no history prior to the establishment of government. Our little country stands alone in that possession, and the charm of that history is due to the lavish biological display, which, when the sailor first appeared, in the form of whales, gambolled in its bays; in the form of seals, basked upon its shores; in the form of timbers, grew in its forests; and, last but not least, in the form of men, practised the rites of cannibalism in its pas. Surfeited with the mass of material thus put before the research student, his taste is spoilt for the investigation of any history which records the matter of fact doings of



men who are compelled to live under the laws of organised government.

The plan formerly adopted of giving the authorities is not followed in this volume, they are reserved for the final work. The variations in the presentation of the tabular matter are intended to ascertain, from the experience of the readers, which method should be adopted finally.

“The Old Whaling Days” is not complete in itself, but, combined with “Murihiku” (1909) pp. 1 to 378, covers the history of the South Island of New Zealand, from its discovery by Tasman in 1642, down to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840—a period of two years short of two centuries—and it is the Author’s intention to proceed with the North Island in the same manner, with the object of one day bringing it all together in a more finished production. In this respect these books are but advance publications, to insure against the hundred and one risks which stand in the way of the final work being ever accomplished. As they are, therefore, not the last word of the Author on the subject, he invites all who have a suggestion to make, or who can point out errors or omissions, to do so. Where persons possess correspondence, or papers, dealing with any subject mentioned in the narrative, a perusal thereof is of such value from an historical point of view, that the Author invites the possessors to grant him that privilege. No one but the Author himself can say that a manuscript dealing with the period prior to August, 1840, has no place for it in the Author’s work.

Some considerable delay has taken place in the publication of this volume. This was due to two causes. The trek for material took the Author, in 1910, to Paris, where an immense store was unearthed, but the language barrier was found to be such a severe stumbling block that it had to be overcome before the search could be successfully continued in that country. That has been done, and the Author is now on the eve of leaving for Europe to clean up the New Zealand material known to be available there,

but the two years required to qualify him has kept back the preparation of this work. The second cause of delay was fire, or rather the third visit of that destroying agent which the Author has experienced. The work was ready, and in type, when a fire in the publishers' factory in Wellington, last July, wiped the whole thing out in one act. The Author was in Sydney, enjoying a holiday at the time, and, as good luck would have it, had, before leaving, secured a "pull off" to examine the last few Chapters with Australian originals. This was the one thing saved from the fire. Meantime, the opening of the Mitchell Library gave access to fresh stores of material, and the fire was taken advantage of to incorporate this, with the result that the work, as it appears now, is the old work largely re-written and added to.

Some material, which might well be considered to come within the province of the book, has been omitted. The genesis of the New Zealand Company is not given, nor is any mention made of events in England and Scotland, in which the Company played an important part. These are so intimately connected with the sending out of the first Governor, and the appointment of Captain Hobson to that position, that they have been held over to be dealt with when the history of the North Island comes to be written. Partly for the same reason, the rise and history of the French Expedition, which came to Akaroa nearly two months after the South Island became British Territory, has been omitted. So much material has been accumulated under this heading that its publication, in anything like completeness, would fill a volume of no insignificant size, and, as the opinion has long held ground that it was at Akaroa, and on account of the French going to land there, that British Sovereignty was proclaimed over the South Island, and as the Author holds an entirely different view, the reader is entitled to know everything about it, and should not be dependent for that, on the small amount of space which could be spared in this book. That, therefore, stands over. For causes also connected with the

want of space, material relating to the purchase of land from the Natives, and the later material dealing with the French scientists has been reduced to a minimum.

The determination of the exact locality of places, and of the proper spelling of names, has been fraught with the greatest difficulties. Some of the place-names have been ascertained through references obtained in the most unexpected places, others by local tradition, but a few have resisted every attempt at identification. The spelling of ships' names is sometimes rather loose, *e.g.*, "Marianne" or "Mary Ann," "Harriett," or "Harriet," "Maria Watson," or "Marion Watson." In such cases references in official documents, or advertisements, are preferred to the spelling of sea captains. The French ships proved so difficult to record that many captains confined their description to "a French whaler." It is, however, in the names of sailors that imagination was allowed to run riot. We have "Anglin," "Anglim," "Anglem," "Ingram," and "England," for one unfortunate mariner. The first spelling was selected because used by the best educated recorders of his movements, but the name "Anglem" has been generally accepted, wrongly, the Author is satisfied. The name Blinkinsopp is another of the same kind. Some of the names recorded may be considered to be of so little value as not to be worth recording. That may be so, but the Author has not that perfect knowledge of his subject which will enable him, with confidence, to reject any name as too insignificant for record.

Anything in the nature of a complete acknowledgment of thanks for the assistance rendered by friends who have put their libraries at the Author's disposal, friends who have helped him with introductions to those in authority in other lands, and friends to historical research, who, as officers in public institutions, have given him of their best, would be impossible. There are, however, some whom no excuse such as that would forgive the passing over of: In Wellington, Mr. A. H. Turnbull, with his great collection of New Zealand Literature; in Hobart, Mr. Tapsell of



the Record Office; in Sydney, Mr. Wright and his Staff of assistants in the Mitchell, and Mr. Ifould and his Staff in the Free Public Libraries; in the United States, the Officers of the Historical Societies of New Bedford, and Nantucket, and the Librarian of the New Bedford Library, and of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; in England, the Officers in the Record Office, and the British Museum; and in Paris, the Minister of Marine and the Officers of his various Departments, and M. de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The thanks of the Author are also due to the Officers of the Royal Geographical Society, London, who not only put themselves to considerable inconvenience to search for the Enderby Papers, but who, when they were found, permitted their first publication to take place herein. The Author would also express his thanks to the Rev. Dr. Watkin, of St. Kilda, Melbourne, for leave given to reproduce his father's Journal. Mr. T. E. Welch, of The Lake, Wanstead, Hawke's Bay, permitted the Author to have the use of a valuable collection of old manuscripts which belonged to the late Captain Hempleman. For such consideration, merely to receive thanks is a very small return.

The Author also desires to thank Messrs. Whitecombe and Tombs' staff for the care and attention they have devoted to the production of this volume.

As this book is published with the sole desire of giving to the World the facts connected with the early history of New Zealand, the Author places no embargo upon the use of any part of it by other writers; it is expected, however, that all making use of its contents will honourably acknowledge the source from which the narrative has come.

Should the Index prove wanting, either to the general reader, or to the student of any line of investigation, a short note to the Author will always be welcomed by him, and may remedy that defect in future works; certainly it will save the final production from the defect complained of.

Palmerston North,

24th May, 1913.



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# THE OLD WHALING DAYS

## CHAPTER I.

COOK STRAIT, 1830 TO 1832.

1830.

For a long time before the period now to be reviewed New Zealand had been intimately associated with the whaling trade. Whalers had "fished" off the northern coast from about 1794, and had, from somewhere about that date, made the Bay of Islands a depôt from which they obtained food for their crews, and crews for their ships. These were sperm whalers, who hunted the cachalot in the open sea, over recognised whaling grounds in the vicinity of our coasts, but their trade cannot be claimed as belonging to any country in particular, it belongs to the Ocean. The whaling trade we now propose to deal with was of an entirely different kind, and consisted of pursuing and capturing the right whale, when these animals paid their annual visit to the New Zealand bays.

Dieffenbach, the naturalist of the New Zealand Company, who wrote fully on the subject in 1839, when there were ample facilities for accurate observation, says that the whales arrived off our coast from the north, in the beginning of May, skirted the western coastline of the North Island, passed between Kapiti Island and the mainland, and then entered Cloudy Bay. In June they appeared at the Chathams. In October they made to the east or to the north. Some, instead of coming through Cook Strait, went round by Preservation Inlet and Foveaux Strait. In the early part of the season the whales were in Cook Strait, in the latter part, in Cloudy Bay.

The end of the third decade of the century found quite a number of Sydney firms engaged in the sperm whale trade, in company with the whaling vessels of England, Europe, and America. As sperm whales came to be reduced in number, and as the demand for right whale oil and whalebone made the right whale more valuable, greater attention was paid to the latter's movements, and some of the whalers captured the right whale when opportunity offered, and took sperm or right as they were available. Noting the bays on the New Zealand coast which the whales visited to calve, and the period when that took place, the whalers, during the same period, forsook the open sea whaling and visited these same bays. Thus did bay whaling become a New Zealand trade.

The Rev. R. Taylor states, under date 1855, that whaling began in Cook Strait and Preservation Inlet in 1827, but as Williams, who managed the Preservation Station, only claimed to have started there in 1829, Taylor must be wrong in his dates or in his association of the two places. In April, 1836, the Customs Department, Sydney, informed the Governor that the fisheries had been carried on for about eight years and were increasing. That would imply a commencement in 1827 or 1828, according as the writer spoke of the seasons the stations were used, or the years since they were opened. In 1839, Guard told Colonel Wakefield of the New Zealand Company that he entered Tory Channel in 1827, having been driven in by a gale of wind. There he built a house and carried on sealing and whaling, with great risk and annoyance from the natives and with no profit to himself. Sometimes he was compelled to live on whale's flesh and wild turnip tops. For want of sufficient men and the necessary tools, he was unable to save the oil, so he killed the whales for the bone only, which he sold to passing vessels. The Maoris repeatedly burnt down his buildings. Guard's account is quite consistent with contemporaneous records, and would explain the absence of any mention of New Zealand whale oil, amongst Sydney imports, during those years.



The explanation of any misunderstanding as to the date of the commencement of the Cook Strait whaling is probably to be found in a letter of date November, 1831, written by Mr. Bell, a Sydney merchant, who was extensively engaged in the trade, and who had resided with a shore party at Cloudy Bay for some seven months during the whaling season of 1830. That gentleman says:—

“The black whale fishery was tried in New Zealand some years ago, but it was again abandoned until last year, when it was renewed by one vessel and two shore parties from Sydney, and one vessel from Hobart Town. As they had to look out for the best bays and other difficulties to encounter which always attend the commencement of such speculations, some time was lost at the beginning of the season, but they were, on the whole, very successful, and caught about six hundred tons of oil and thirty tons of bone. . . . The black whales visit the bays and coasts of New Zealand for the purpose of calving, and begin to set in about the beginning of April and remain till about the middle of September. Cloudy Bay in Cooks Straits is considered the best situation on account of its excellent harbour, but should too many vessels frequent it there are several other smaller harbours and bays in the Middle and Southern and Stewarts Island where the fishery may be carried on.”

This clears up the mystery surrounding the starting of bay whaling in Cook Strait, and fits in with the statement attributed to Guard of his connection with it. Bell varies, to the extent of a month, the date of arrival of the whales. This may have been one of the results of the nine years of persecution which the whales had undergone when Dieffenbach wrote.

The first cargo of whale oil, which can be identified as coming from the South Island of New Zealand, reached Sydney on 3rd February, 1830, in the *Waterloo*, a small schooner of 66 tons, under the command of Captain Guard.

The oil cargo consisted of only two tuns, and was consigned to R. Campbell & Co., but whether it was taken by a shore party during the 1829 season, or was captured at sea, is not stated. In addition to her oil, the *Waterloo* had on board 1185 seal skins, which she had procured in the south. During her southern trip she met the *Caroline*, Williams, off Chalky Inlet the day she sailed. Her sealing trip might explain the delay in getting to Sydney the oil of the 1829 season.

On 13th February, the *Harlequin*, 71 tons, Scott, sailed from Sydney for Cook Strait, with a cargo of muskets, gunpowder, pipes, tobacco, and rum. She brought back a cargo of flax and potatoes on 30th March. John Cowel, the son of a ropemaker in Sydney, was on board acting as interpreter. The work he did was highly spoken of, and his services were commended to merchants engaged in the New Zealand trade. Her second trip was from Hobart Town on 2nd June, under the command of Allan Monteith. Her cargo was consigned to Mr. George Macfarlane, who was also a passenger.

While at Hobart Town Captain Monteith told, that, a short time before, he had been at New Zealand as second officer on board a vessel, and had spoken the Government brig *Cyprus*, which had been piratically seized while in Research Bay on a voyage from Hobart Town to Macquarie Island with convicts. Convict Walker then commanded the captured vessel. Under him she was sailing as the *Friends of Boston*. When spoken she was taking in ballast and water, and had plenty of provisions on board. It is probable that Monteith was second officer of the *Elizabeth and Mary*, as that vessel brought similar news to Sydney in September, 1829. If so, it was at Port Underwood the pirates were met with, and it would be from the natives of Cook Strait they obtained their provisions.

This conclusion is supported by the recollection of Mr. John Guard, of Port Underwood, of his father's version of the incident. The original John Guard, captain of the

*Waterloo*, told his son that he was in Port Underwood when the *Cyprus* arrived; that shortly afterwards "Billy" Worth arrived (the *Elizabeth and Mary*). When Worth found out who his neighbours were he wanted to effect a capture, but Guard would not hear of it. "Captain" Walker treated Guard and Worth to everything good that was on board, and the pirate quite won the heart of Mrs. Worth by presenting her with some ladies' dresses. These dresses had belonged to the officers' wives when the craft was seized and all but the pirates put ashore. Guard also said that the *Waterloo*, the *Cyprus* and the *Elizabeth and Mary* were the first three ships to visit Port Underwood. This statement is open to grave doubt.

In March, R. Campbell & Co. purchased the brig *Hind* and fitted her out for the black whale fishery. On 26th April, Bell and Farmer sent the *William Stoveld* on a whaling cruise to New Zealand. The *Hind* followed on 4th May. When the brig *Tranmere* arrived on 24th June, with a cargo of flax from Kapiti, Captain Smith reported that the *William Stoveld* and the *Hind* were bay whaling there, and that the former had 25 tuns of oil on board, and the latter 16, with a whale alongside.

Reports which reached Sydney in July regarding the prospects of the bay whaling were very favourable. These were borne out by the return of the *William Stoveld* on 13th August, with 50 tuns of oil and 25 tons of flax. This vessel appears to have had a party stationed ashore in connection with her operations. On the day of her arrival in Sydney, the *Norval*, Harrison, sailed for the New Zealand black whale fishery.

The *Currency Lass*, the *Java Packet*, and the *Industry* were at New Zealand when the *William Stoveld* left. In consequence of the increased demand flax was becoming rather scarce, and masters of vessels were reporting great difficulty in getting cargoes. The real significance of the trade was not lost upon the Sydney people, and some appeared to have qualms of conscience over the fact that



the trade was a flourishing one simply because the islanders wanted weapons to wage war against one another. One journal took up the cudgels on behalf of the trade, and argued that the supplies of muskets and gunpowder which were pouring into New Zealand would make war such a fearful thing that the natives would hesitate to embark on it and peace would result. Whether that argument is true to-day remains to be seen, but subsequent events among the Maoris showed that in their case the result was the very opposite.

On 3rd September the *Prince of Denmark* brought up 15 tons of flax. Her report was that there was plenty of flax, but that the natives would not trade. The *Argo*, the *Currency Lass*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Industry* had only 5 tons among them. Whaling looked better, as the *Hind* had about 140 tuns of black oil, the *William Stoveld's* party 100 tuns, and the *Deveron*, of Hobart, 140 tuns.

Six days later the *Argo*, disgusted at her want of success in getting a cargo, reached Sydney a clean ship. To add to the disappointment she had lost two of her anchors.

On 11th October, the brig *Industry* returned with 21 tons of flax and a passenger, Richard Murphy. Captain Young reported speaking the brig *Elizabeth*, the *Dragon*, and the *Currency Lass*, all empty; the *Waterloo*, with 10 tons of flax, and the *Hind*, at Cloudy Bay on 28th August, almost full of oil.

The *Java Packet*, which was the other vessel in Cook Strait with the *William Stoveld*, *Industry* and *Currency Lass*, came to a sad end. Some prisoners at Norfolk Island seized a boat and escaped. They made for New Zealand, seized the *Java Packet*, and, it was thought, murdered the crew and took the vessel to Rhootamah where they scuttled her.

The *Waterloo* returned on the twenty-third with 14 tons of flax. During the following month—November—the remaining bay whalers returned to Sydney. The *Norval* and the *Hind* sailed together, but the former put into Cloudy Bay for several days, eventually reaching

Sydney on 2nd November, with 110 tuns of oil, 10 tons of flax, and 6 tons whalebone, while the latter reached Sydney on the thirteenth, with 160 tuns of oil and 6 tons of whalebone.

The doings of the *Elizabeth* will form the subject of a special chapter.

J. B. Montefiore, of Sydney, decided at this time to form mercantile establishments throughout New Zealand, and, to make himself acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, chartered the brig *Argo*, 168 tons, Billing, and sailed for New Zealand on 11th September, 1830. His first port of call was Kawhia, where he purchased some land for a trading station and then sailed south. He intended to visit the South Island, but the events to be recorded in the next chapter altered his plans, and he returned to Sydney in the *Elizabeth*. The *Argo* did not reach Sydney until 28th May. Her cargo consisted of 55 tons of flax, 10 tons of potatoes, 30 pigs, 2 sacks of wheat, and 30 jars of pickled oysters. Among trade pioneers she may claim the honour of being the pioneer of the oyster trade.

In addition to the Sydney whalers, the *Deveron* had returned from Cloudy Bay to Hobart Town on 2nd November, with 200 tuns of oil and 20 tons of bone. This barque was commanded by Captain Lovett, and although she brought back to port a very fine cargo, she had been compelled to bring her voyage to an end through a terrible accident met with while on the fishing station.

“Two parties, in different boats, were examining a bay on that coast, when a sudden squall overtook them, and, dreadful to relate, one of the boats was immediately capsized. The poor unfortunate sufferers were seen by the crew of the other boat in this dreadful situation, but owing to the tempestuous weather, it would have been certain destruction to the other crew had they attempted to relieve their companions, who consequently met an untimely end.

The crew of the boat consisted of the first and third mate, besides four seamen, one of whom was a native lad of the place, named Williams. In consequence of the above unfortunate circumstance, by which six hands were lost, the captain considered it advisable to return to port, particularly as, with the exception of about 15 tuns, the whole of his oil casks were filled."

The date of the tragedy is given as 28th September, 1830. The cargo obtained during the five months of the voyage was valued at £5000, and belonged to Captain Wilson.

When Captain Briggs returned to Hobart Town in the *Dragon*, on 10th December, after experiences at Kapiti which will be recorded in connection with the movements of the *Elizabeth*, the Customs authorities treated his cargo as foreign produce, and called upon him to pay five per cent. duty in addition to wharfage charges. At that time, in Sydney, New Zealand produce was treated as Colonial, and neither duty nor wharfage charges were imposed upon it. Under this system Sydney had built up a big New Zealand trade. The point had never been raised in Hobart Town, where the New Zealand trade was very insignificant. Briggs, who was one of the owners of the *Dragon*, applied to the authorities to have his cargo treated as foreign produce. The Customs officers at once saw the importance of the point in relation to the development of their trade with New Zealand, and reported favourably on the application. The Sydney Customs, on being consulted, advised that they dealt with New Zealand produce as their own "free of duty, or any charge whatever," but that the Regulation was purely a local one, and they suggested that the subject was worthy of the attention of the Lt.-Governor at Hobart Town. On examination, and in view of the importance of cultivating an oversea trade for the young town of Hobart Town, the Lt.-Governor decided that New Zealand produce should be admitted as Colonial, and Captain Briggs was advised that his cargo

of spars and flax would be admitted free. Whether due to this step or not, the author will not say, but after this date the Hobart Town trade with New Zealand developed to a wonderful extent.

It is possible to give a very fair description of the local bay whaling and to indicate the quantity of oil obtained during the season of 1830, in Cook Strait. For this we are again indebted to the information supplied by Mr. Bell, who thus places upon record the result of his observations while at Cloudy Bay.

“If the fishing is to be carried on by a shore party, the try pots and huts are erected on the beach and the vessel which brought the party down is either employed in collecting flax along the coast, or returns to Sydney, and is sent down again at the end of the season to bring them up with what oil they may have caught. The boats are sent out at daylight every morning, and when they are so fortunate as to kill a fish it is towed ashore and flinched and boiled up on the beach. When the fishing is carried on in a vessel, the blubber is boiled out in try pots erected on deck as in a sperm whaler. From its being tried out immediately after the fish is caught the oil is much purer and is free from the rancid smell of the Greenland oil. A vessel had a great advantage over a shore party as in fine weather they can go out of the harbour and anchor in the Bay, and when they have got a sufficient quantity of blubber, or when bad weather comes on, they can tow the dead whales in; whereas if a shore party kills a whale, and bad weather comes on, they are obliged to anchor it and come in, and it is a great chance if they do not lose it.

“The whales are seldom killed nearer than two miles from the harbour, and sometimes seven or eight, and if the tide or wind is against them it is a most laborious business to tow such a huge animal.



I have known the boats to be out for 14 hours pulling, except at short intervals, all the time. Indeed, killing the fish is a trifle in comparison with the getting it in, our party alone lost seven large fish after they were killed last season. The depth of water in the bays where the whales are killed is from 14 to 20 fathoms. They yield from 2 to 13 tuns of oil, those killed by my party last season averaged 6 tuns of oil each and three and a half hundred-weight of bone. The cows are generally larger and produce more oil than the bulls, but they get thin towards the end of the season from supporting the calves. It is a pity that it should often be necessary to fasten to the calf in order to secure the cow, but I do not apprehend it will cause such a diminution of numbers as to injure the fishing, at least not until it is carried on to a much greater extent than it is at present."

Mr. Bell speaks of one whaling vessel and two whaling stations being fitted out from Sydney during the first season. It is somewhat difficult to follow his figures in this. The *Hind* was fitted out by R. Campbell & Co., and the *William Stoveld* by Bell (probably our informant) and Farmer. The *Tranmere* reported both of them to be whaling at Kapiti. According to the Sydney press, two different firms had a whaling station and a vessel engaged in the industry. The solitary vessel from Hobart Town was the *Deveron*, owned by Captain Wilson. Bell puts the total catch at 600 tuns of oil and 30 tons of bone. At the London prices of £28 for oil and £125 for bone the whaling products for the season would amount to £20,550. The whalers also took away 25 tons of flax. Probably the distinction between Kapiti and Cloudy Bay in regard to trade generally was not very clearly observed.

The following table will show the cargoes of oil reported in the press to have been obtained in and about Cook Strait during 1830:—

| Arrival | Vessel              | Class    | Tons | Captain   | Tons |
|---------|---------------------|----------|------|-----------|------|
| Feb. 3  | Waterloo ... ..     | Schooner | 66   | Guard ... | 2    |
| Aug. 13 | William Stoveld ... | Brig ... | 187  | Davidson  | 50   |
| Nov. 2  | Norval ... ..       | Brig ... | 294  | Harrison  | 110  |
| Nov. 2  | Deveron ... ..      |          | 272  | Lovett    | 200  |
| Nov. 13 | Hind ... ..         | Brig ... | 140  | Scott     | 160  |

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The following Flax Traders also visited Cook Strait :—

| Arrival | Vessel               | Class    | Tons | Captain     | Tons |
|---------|----------------------|----------|------|-------------|------|
| Mar. 30 | Harlequin ... ..     | Schooner | 71   | Scott ...   |      |
| June 24 | Tranmere ... ..      | Brig ... | 186  | Smith ...   | 17   |
| Aug. 13 | William Stoveld ...  | Brig ... | 182  | Davidson    | 25   |
| Sept. 3 | Prince of Denmark... | Schooner | 127  | Jack ...    | 15   |
| Sept. 9 | Argo ... ..          | Brig ... | 169  | Billing ... |      |
| Oct. 11 | Industry ... ..      | Brig ... | 87   | Young ...   | 21   |
| Oct. 23 | Waterloo ... ..      | Schooner | 66   | Guard ...   | 14   |
| Nov. 2  | Norval ... ..        | Brig ... | 294  | Harrison    | 10   |
| Dec. 10 | Dragon ... ..        |          | 135  | Steine ...  |      |
|         | Java Packet ... ..   |          | 88   | Morris ...  |      |

This table is limited to those known to have been in Cook Strait. Probably it does not form even a majority of those that were there.

Bell was in the habit of getting supplies of potatoes for his Cloudy Bay whaling station from the Kapiti natives, and on one occasion an Englishman, who came over with them in a canoe manned by 40 Maoris, told him of a singular custom which the Natives observed when coming across. They coasted along until they came to the narrowest part of the Strait when every man but the steersman covered his eyes. They obliged the Englishman to do the same, and to sit down in the bottom of the boat. In this singular position they paddled across. Shortly after they started the Englishman uncovered his eyes, but the natives remained blindfolded and speechless until the canoes came within a quarter of a mile of the land, when, at a signal from the steersman, they resumed their normal condition amidst demonstrations of joy.

Up to this time vessels engaged in the flax trade always come down to the New Zealand coast with sufficient goods

on board to enable barter with the Natives to be carried on until their cargoes were completed. This meant great delay on the coast and consequent loss of money. A very much better plan now came into operation. Collectors were landed at the different settlements to buy the flax and have it all ready to be put on board when the vessel was ready to receive it. Meanwhile the vessel sailed away and visited other places.

The goods usually taken for exchange were tomahawks, pipes, fishhooks, clasp knives, tobacco, cotton handkerchiefs, cartridge paper, bullets, cartouche boxes, bayonets, cutlasses, bullet moulds, and leather belts. In winter there was a very good demand for blankets and woollen slops. The goods got in return were pigs, potatoes, curios, and flax. Labour was paid for the same way. Tobacco was in good demand, and rum gave promise of improvement as its taste was acquired. Muskets, with a plentiful supply of gunpowder, were looked upon as the most valuable articles for the Natives to have, and they were purchased by such quantities that an onlooker would have thought they would have long before this become a drug on the market. This was not so, however. When the trade first commenced, any sort of weapon which the trader could fire off, if it were only when the weapon was being tried, was good enough to buy, and, as the Natives were provided neither with the means nor the knowledge of effecting repairs, the number of muskets which had to be "scrapped" was very great. By 1830 this was all changed, and the Maori knew a good gun just as well as the European did, and they knew the men they were dealing with, so they made it a rule to take off the locks and examine them before completing the bargain. They preferred the muskets which bore a Tower stamp, and fancied the stocks which were dark in colour and had most brass upon them.

When it is known that the trade in muskets and gunpowder was almost wholly to enable Te Rauparaha to plunder and devastate the less efficiently armed tribes around him, the expert knowledge which the Maori had

acquired in connection with munitions of war gives us an idea of the tremendous magnitude of the trade, and the consequent destruction of human life on which it lived. One trader hired out his vessel to take natives to a certain spot to kill other natives, another trader sold the guns to the transported natives by which they were able to effect their purpose, knowing at the time what the weapons were being bought for. The problem of deciding which was the greater offence is passed on from the author to the reader.

1831.

In the early part of 1831, and before the whaling season commenced, considerable activity was shown in the Kapiti Island flax trade. First of all, the *Elizabeth* returned to Sydney on 14th January with 30 tons. She was followed, early in February, by the *Currency Lass*, with another 30 tons, and Captain Wishart reported that he had left the brig *Argo*, and the schooner *Speculator*, at Kapiti, with small quantities of flax in each. The last named reached Sydney on 5th March with a cargo of 13 tons. Then came the *Waterloo*, on the ninth, with 15 tons of flax and 700 seal skins, and finally the *Argo*, on the twenty-eighth, with 55 tons. These five flax vessels brought to Sydney, in three months, 143 tons of prepared fibre, mostly from Cook Strait. The defence preparations of the Kapiti Administration must now have been in a very forward condition.

When the whaling season came on, the first vessel to arrive from Cook Strait was the *Waterloo*, Brady, on 12th June, with 3 tuns of oil, the product of one whale. She had left New Zealand on 28th May and reported the following vessels there when she sailed.

The *Elizabeth*, moored off the bay, having taken one whale.

The *Courier*, without oil and with her crew in a state of mutiny.

The *Venus* and the *Currency Lass*, empty.



The season proved a very profitable one, as the following letter, written at Cloudy Bay after the best of the season was over, will show:—

Ship *Elizabeth*, Cloudy Bay,  
July 27, 1831.

By the *Dragon* I beg to inform you that we have on board 1600 barrels of oil, and are in a fair way of getting more. The following fishers are in Cloudy Bay:—

The *Dragon*, full;  
*Courier*, 300 barrels;  
*William Stoveld*, 300 barrels of black oil,  
and 400 of sperm;  
and *New Zealander*, empty;

Mossman's shore whaling gangs have secured  
170 barrels.

The *Jane* arrived here yesterday.

The *Juno* left this place about 3 weeks back for  
Banks' Island, with 1000 barrels of oil.

The *Dragon* referred to here was the Hobart whaler; she sailed from New Zealand on 28th July and reached the Derwent on 3rd September, 1831.

By the end of August the *Juno* had returned from Banks Peninsula, and was lying at Kapiti when the brutal murder of one of the seamen by the captain took place. An eye witness thus describes it:—

“The brig *Juno*, whaler, was lying at anchor at Cobarty (Kapiti), New Zealand, on the 31st of August last, Captain Peterson and a boat's crew were on shore buying potatoes, etc., and when he returned on board, he was in a hurry to get under weigh. The mate called all hands to the windlass to weigh, and Johnstone was the first man on deck, when the mate told Johnstone that if the anchor was weighed, the wind blowing on the shore and the tide running up, the vessel would go on shore. Johnstone then came forward, and shortly after the Captain

himself came and asked why the ship was not under weigh? Johnstone said, if the anchor was hove, the ship would go ashore. The Captain called him a mutinous rascal, asked him if he was master of the ship, to which Johnstone said no, he was willing to heave the anchor up. The Captain then went aft and remained about a quarter of an hour, when he came on deck on the larboard side. Johnstone being on the opposite side of the deck forward, and all hands being ready to man the windlass. The Captain repeated his question of 'where are you Johnstone?' As it was dark, and he could not see him, Johnstone went close up to show himself, when the Captain pushed him with his left hand; Johnstone said to him 'don't shove me Captain Peterson.' Capt. Peterson replied, 'Yes, you mutinous rascal I will shove you,' and again shoved him with his left hand and presenting a pistol which he had in his right hand, shot him dead. The ball entered at the left jaw, came out through the top of the head, and lodged in the right head of the brig. The chief mate immediately took the pistol out of the Captain's hand and threw it overboard, saying, 'You shall do no more mischief with that; you have done a pretty thing for yourself.' When the Captain drew the trigger of the pistol he said 'He struck me first,' when the crew answered 'He did not.' The crew then requested the officers to secure the Captain from doing further damage, and the officers passed their word that he should be taken care of. Captains Ashmore and Adams then came on board and asked the crew if they were willing that Captain Peterson should go on board the *Guide*, where he should be taken care of. The crew objected to Captain Peterson's being taken out of the vessel, thinking that his escape from justice was intended, and told Captain Ashmore that he would not be harmed or insulted by them. On the following day, the 1st

September, Johnstone was taken on shore and interred; and when the crew returned from the burial, a whale sprung up close to the ship, and the officer in charge held up his hand and asked who would volunteer to go and kill the whale? The boats were then manned, and the crew started and killed the whale. During the time the crew were away towing the whale alongside, the *Guide's* boat (in which were the first mate and three seamen) went on board the *Juno*, for some plank, and Captain Peterson jumped into the boat and was landed by them. A seaman on board hailed the boats, which immediately cast off from the whale, and gave chase to the boat in which the Captain had escaped, but could not overtake it before he was safely landed. The day following, a note was received from Captain Peterson, telling the seamen that if they pursued him on shore, they would meet with a very cool reception from the natives. Some of the men, with the officer in charge, then went on shore to arrest the Captain, and when they got on shore, saw him with a musket in his hand, surrounded by a large body of the natives armed with muskets and bayonets. The officer went up and spoke to the Captain, when the Captain, the officer, and two of the crew went up together to a Mr. Harvey's hut. The officer then asked Captain Peterson if he would go on board? He said, no, but they should never take him on board alive, for he would sooner put an end to his life. Mr. Harvey then said, that he would protect him whilst he had a roof to his house. One of the men then laid hold of the Captain, and told him that he must go in the vessel to Sydney. The Captain hallooed to the natives, who rushed in great numbers to his assistance, armed with bayonets, and drove the men down to their boats with great violence, and so rescued Captain Peterson. The officer and men then returned to the vessel, which

weighed anchor and sailed for Sydney the next morning.”

The *Guide* mentioned here was a vessel of 147 tons, commanded by Captain Ashmore, and had left Sydney on 13th August for Cook Strait. After the murder, the mate—Smith—took the *Juno* to Sydney. It was reported that a private investigation was held in the Police Office, late in October, but nothing further was heard of it.

The *Venus*, a whaler belonging to Kelly, of Hobart Town, had been among the Islands to the south of New Zealand. After leaving Cloudy Bay she went sperm whaling and reached Sydney on 6th January, 1832.

On the 25th September, the *Waterloo* returned from Campbell's shore whaling establishment on her second oil trip, with 40 tuns oil and 3 tons bone. Readers will notice that Guard commanded the *Waterloo* outside the whaling season, but when the shore establishments were busy another captain took his place, Guard leaving to take control of the station.

Speaking of the 1831 season, Bell says: “This year it (the whaling) has been entered into with great spirit. There have been no less than six vessels and three shore parties fitted out from Sydney, and two vessels, I believe, from Hobart Town.” The five vessels above recorded and the *Waterloo* were probably the six referred to. R. Campbell & Co. owned one of the shore stations, and Mossman probably owned the other two. The *Deveron*, the *Dragon*, and the *Venus* were Hobart Town vessels, of which the two last-named are recorded as visiting Cloudy Bay. It is more than probable that the other also called there, as she sailed for the whaling and would be more than likely to visit the scene of her former successes.

Until the end of July flax traders monopolised the Cook Strait trade entries at Sydney, the following being the order of arrival of those already mentioned in our narrative:—



| Arrival. | Vessel        |     |     | Class    | Tons | Captain | Tons |
|----------|---------------|-----|-----|----------|------|---------|------|
| Jan. 14  | Elizabeth     | ... | ... | Brig     | 236  | Stewart | 30   |
| Feb. 6   | Currency Lass | ... | ... | Schooner | 90   | Buckell | 30   |
| Mar. 5   | Speculator    | ... | ... | Schooner | 39   | Parker  | 13   |
| Mar. 9   | Waterloo      | ... | ... | Schooner | 66   | Guard   | 15   |
| Mar. 28  | Argo          | ... | ... | Brig     | 169  | Billing | 55   |
| July 27  | Currency Lass | ... | ... | Schooner | 90   | Buckell | 20   |

The whalers, naturally, were crowded into the latter part of the year; particularly was December noted for the quantity of oil which was received at Sydney.

| Arrival  | Vessel          |     |     | Class    | Tons | Captain  | Tons |
|----------|-----------------|-----|-----|----------|------|----------|------|
| June 12  | Waterloo        | ... | ... | Schooner | 66   | Brady    | 3    |
| Sept. 23 | Juno            | ... | ... | Brig     | 212  | Smith    | 60   |
| Sept. 25 | Waterloo        | ... | ... | Schooner | 66   | Guard    | 40   |
| Dec. 4   | Courier         | ... | ... | Brig     | 184  | Sutton   | 75   |
| Dec. 5   | William Stoveld | ... | ... | Brig     | 187  | Davidson | 199  |
| Dec. 5   | Jane            | ... | ... | Brig     | 221  | Watson   | 140  |
| Dec. 7   | New Zealander   | ... | ... | Schooner | 140  | Gardner  | 17   |
| Dec. 9   | Elizabeth       | ... | ... | Ship     | 365  | Fowler   | 327  |
| Dec. 11  | Waterloo        | ... | ... | Schooner | 66   | Brady    | 40   |
| Dec. 31  | Venus           | ... | ... |          | 288  | Harvey   | 140  |

## 1832.

Before the 1832 season opened Guard brought up the *Waterloo* with 115 seal skins and 9 tuns of oil to Sydney on 3rd March. On the nineteenth she returned with a gang of whalers for Cloudy Bay.

When H.M.S. *Zebra* was at Kapiti, under circumstances described hereafter, the schooner *Currency Lass* sailed with a cargo of 28 tons of flax. She reached Sydney on 22nd April with three passengers—Messrs. Wishart, Lane, and Ward, and brought up word that the *William Stoveld*, which had sailed from Sydney on 10th February, had, 14 days afterwards, put into Cloudy Bay, where she remained 10 days to take in the remainder of her lading before proceeding on her voyage.

The *Waterloo* brought up her first cargo of the new season's oil—40 tuns—on 22nd August, and returned to

Cook Strait, five days later, with supplies for the men to the whaling gangs. Hall, her new master, reported that when he sailed from Cloudy Bay on 3rd August Blinkinsopp had 150 tons on board the *Caroline*, and expected to be able to fill up his total supply of casks of 300 tuns. The *Caroline* had sailed from Sydney on 9th May and had two of her men killed in the first boat lowered. Two Tasmanian whalers were also in the Bay. The *Hetty* had 250 barrels of sperm oil on board, and the *Amity*, which had come up from Otago, on 3rd July, had secured five whales. Strong S.E. gales had prevailed during the season.

The next cargo of the *Waterloo*, on 2nd November, consisted of 40 tuns of oil and 4 tons whalebone. Two days after the *Waterloo* reached Sydney another of Campbell & Co's vessels—the *Harriett*, 254 tons. Wyatt—which had sailed from Sydney on 11th August to load up at Cloudy Bay for London, arrived with 188 tuns of oil and 10 tons whalebone. She reported that the Island was in a tolerable state of tranquillity, the flax trade reviving, and the bay whaling proceeding with spirit.

The barque *Vittoria*, 281 tons, S. Ashmore, belonging to R. Jones & Co., brought up 37 tons of flax, 50 pounds whalebone, and 5 butts whale oil to Sydney on 12th November. She also brought to port very sad news of a sealing gang. It appears that about seven months before that, an old Sydney captain, named William Kinnard, accompanied by two whites and several New Zealanders, had proceeded in the *Admiral Gifford* to Rocky Point, for the purpose of forming a sealing establishment, and, after leaving the men there, had returned to Sydney on 9th June with 11 tons of flax. The *Vittoria*, on this trip, went round to pick them up, when to their astonishment and horror, they found that the natives had seized and devoured the whites and taken away their boats and stores.

Just as the whaling vessels which visited Cook Strait were not confined to Sydney-owned craft, so many flax traders from Tasmania were among the customers of the

Maoris in the vicinity of Kapiti. One of these was a boat of 199 tons, called the *William the Fourth*, commanded by Captain Steine, probably one of the most romantic marine figures which the young Australasian colonies have ever produced. Sailing from Hobart on 4th. June, 1832, he made for Kapiti, and proceeded to explore the adjoining seaboard between Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay. As reported by the Hobart Town "Courier" of 14th September, 1832, on his return, his narrative reads:—

"On entering the bay where the prosperous native settlement of Wickett is situated, Captain Steine found that a very large navigable river flowed into it, which he named William the Fourth River. He proceeded up a distance of 50 miles, when he entered a beautiful bay surrounded with magnificent timber interspersed with extensive tracts of the richest soil. About 200 New Zealanders dwelt in a small village close to the beach, who seemed gradually to be acquiring industries and civilised habits. By means of the traffic with the English they had obtained hoes from the people at Wickett with which they had broken up the soil and were cultivating potatoes. Captain Steine found them of a very peaceable and friendly disposition, and easily prevailed on them to assist him in cutting the trees and loading his vessel. That part of the country never before having been visited by any European, he named the bay Horne's Bay, after the owner of his vessel. The resident chief named Tamoc, a very handsome athletic youth, and two others, named Ahuda and Chewack, have come up in the vessel on a visit to Hobart Town.

"Captain Steine discovered another large river near the entrance of the river William the Fourth, which he named Queen Adelaide River. The whole of the country round these parts is under the denomination of Kankatattoo."

The term river was, at that time, applied to what we now designate a sound, the village of Wickett was at Te Awaiti, and William the Fourth River was Tory Channel. The beautiful bay 50 miles up would be the head of Queen Charlotte Sound, where resides Mr. John Duncan, whose intimate knowledge of the Sound the author has freely drawn upon to identify the localities, and the timber was probably obtained from the place where Mr. Duncan's mills afterwards operated so successfully. Queen Adelaide River might have been the Pelorus, or the upper reaches of Queen Charlotte Sound.

Captain Steine sailed from New Zealand on 14th August, and reached Hobart on 1st September.

About the end of 1832 Captain Steine, then a young man of only 22 years of age, set sail in the *Emma Kemp*, a small craft of 37 tons, for Rio de Janeiro, for a cargo of tobacco and coffee. On his outward journey he called in at Cook Strait about the end of the year and there met the Sydney cutter *Lord Liverpool*. Following up the bold voyage of Captain Steine in his little craft we find that he left Rio on his return journey on 14th April, 1833, and reached Hobart on 12th August. Of his crew of 5 men not one could read or write. This is probably the most daring circumnavigation of the Globe ever undertaken by an Australasian captain.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE BRIG "ELIZABETH," 1830 TO 1832.

On 22nd February, 1830, the *Elizabeth*, a brig of 236 tons, lay in the London Docks completing her crew and cargo for a voyage to New South Wales. Her owners intended to discharge her English cargo at Sydney and then send her to the coast of New Zealand to engage in the flax trade. Her captain, who was also a part owner, was John Stewart, described as of Southtown, in Suffolk. On 3rd March she sailed, and, after discharging her cargo at Port Jackson, proceeded, on 19th August, to New Zealand for general trade.

Stewart first took his vessel into Whangaroa, the last resting place of the ill-fated *Boyd*, and then made for Kapiti, at that time the great flax emporium of New Zealand. Here he found Te Rauparaha and Te Hiko busily engaged in preparing for a raid against the tribe which, under Tamaiharanui, occupied the shores of Akaroa, and whose chief had committed the offence of having killed Te Pehi Kupe, the father of Te Hiko.

The foresight of Te Rauparaha, and the special facilities which Kapiti offered for coming in contact with shipping, had enabled a large stock of muskets and powder to be accumulated there for any venture the two chiefs had in view. The weapons having been secured, Te Rauparaha set himself to obtain for his warriors means of transport to the scene of action. Just then the *Dragon* of Hobart Town dropped anchor off the Island, and Te Rauparaha at once approached Captain Briggs for the use of his vessel.

More than merely the means of transport was to be gained by the employment of a British vessel. The mission of the trader was a peaceful one and Te Rauparaha saw that he could, with such aid, transport a large body of men without the publicity attending a flotilla of Maori canoes.

The vessel was a transport, and at the same time a blind. The scheme was well thought out. The difficulties in the way were many, but were faced with consummate skill. A tribal war was not a thing in which captains of British vessels cared to interfere, and, knowing this, Te Rauparaha determined to get over the difficulty which Captain Briggs was bound to raise by making the objective of the mission appear to be satisfaction for wrongs committed against white men. He represented that Te Pehi Kupe, the chief whose death he sought to obtain satisfaction for, had been the friend and avenger of the wrongs of the Pakeha. If that was not enough he and Te Hiko reminded the captain that there were no less than three other charges standing against Tamaiharanui and all of them involving responsibility for the death of Europeans. The first was that of a trader named Smith, in the employ of Captain Wiseman, who had been killed at the same time as Te Pehi Kupe. The second was the case of Captain J. Dawson and five of the crew of the *Samuel*, in 1824. The third was the murder of a midshipman and boat's crew belonging to H.M.S. *Warspite*.

In addition to the skill which the two cannibal chiefs manifested in voicing the cries for vengeance for the spilt blood of Maori and Pakeha, they showed considerable diplomacy. They informed Captain Briggs that they were quite prepared to pay, and to pay well, for the use of his vessel. Though often regarded as an illustration of the brutality of Te Rauparaha it may rather be an indication of his knowledge of the European trading captain of that day, that he proposed to make good the want of a suitable cause of war by a plentiful supply of its sinews.

Briggs would not agree to the proposal. He was not averse to taking part in an expedition against one whom he believed to be a murderous villain, but he objected to the scheme as outlined by the Kapiti chiefs. He would only go so far as to convey Te Rauparaha and two of his best men to Akaroa, where they could get an opportunity of securing the object of their vengeance: he would not be a

party to their scheme of wholesale butchery. Te Rauparaha, who always believed in the personal safety of the leader of any expedition which he himself commanded, insisted on taking with him not less than twenty of his people, but, as that would give him the physical command of the *Dragon*, Briggs would not agree and the negotiations ceased. At this stage the *Elizabeth* arrived.

It is only fair to Stewart to state that he could have known, personally, nothing of the habits of the Maoris, nothing of the crafty nature of Te Rauparaha, and nothing of the truth or otherwise of the charges made against Tamaiharanui. If, in his ignorance, he appealed to Briggs for corroborative evidence of the iniquities of the Akaroa chief, he would get it, because Briggs believed that he was, as described to a Hobart Town editor, a "monster, the recapitulation of whose atrocities would fill a dozen of your numbers." Outside of Briggs, Stewart's adviser would be his trading master, Cowell, who, from what transpired afterwards, would have no scruples how flax or any other cargo was obtained, so long as it was got. Whatever was the cause, Stewart favourably considered Te Rauparaha's proposals, and ultimately closed a bargain with him to convey his expedition to Akaroa, and to return with it to Kapiti after the objects of the expedition had been attained. Briggs says that he tried to dissuade Stewart from taking more Maoris on board than he could control, and urged him to send ashore, on arrival at Akaroa, men with presents, and who would state that they wanted to make the chief alone responsible for the death of the white men. This advice was ignored, and, on 29th October, 1830, an expedition of something like 120 men, armed with muskets and native weapons, embarked on board the *Elizabeth* and set sail for Banks Peninsula.

Here we may be permitted to digress for a moment to analyse the causes assigned by Te Rauparaha for asking the co-operation of a European vessel in such an undertaking. The death of Te Pehi Kupe might, according to native custom, warrant Maoris in taking steps to secure

vengeance from Maoris, but would never justify the intervention of the Pakeha, not even if a Pakeha's death was brought about under the circumstance mentioned in the case of Smith. So much for the first case quoted. The death of Captain Dawson and his five men—the second charge—took place, so it was recorded at the time, at Cook Strait, which would seem to be inconsistent with Tamaiharanui's personal complicity, as that chief had his headquarters at Akaroa. No further information regarding this matter is at the author's disposal. The loss of a midshipman and a boat's crew belong to H.M.S. *Warspite*, which was the third charge, is a matter capable of proof or disproof, by a simple perusal of the vessel's log. This, on examination, shows that from August, 1825, to March, 1833, she only visited Cook Strait once—in January, 1827. On that occasion she was within sight of land from the fourteenth to the twentieth, but never once landed a boat's crew. That charge, then, goes by the board. As bearing on the same question the author desires to place on record a statement made to him by the Rev. Canon Stack, who long laboured with much acceptance among the Maoris at Kaiapohia, that the natives there always maintained to him that whatever wrongs they had committed in the past, their hands were clean of white man's blood. The three charges against Tamaiharanui, made to justify European intervention, may, therefore, be ascribed as: the first, not applicable; the second, not probable; and the third, not true.

After an uneventful passage in the *Elizabeth*, Stewart arrived at Akaroa, and, to prevent the possibility of arousing the suspicions of the natives residing in the Bay, gave not the slightest indication that any Maoris were concealed on board. For several days, while the vessel lay at anchor, he kept Te Rauparaha's men down below and only permitted them to patrol the decks at night. The vessel's appearance thus conveyed the impression that she had come into the Bay merely to trade, as vessels from Australia often did at that time. It is reported from Maori sources, that, when the *Elizabeth* arrived, Tamaiharanui



was not at home, but was on the flax ground with the women dressing flax, and Stewart, to lull all suspicions and at the same time to arouse the cupidity of the natives, brought 10 muskets and 2 casks of powder up to the chief's house. Be that as it may, the chief was invited to come on board, and information was sent him of the captain's desire to trade, and of the fact that he had plenty of muskets to buy flax.

Some three or four days after casting anchor in the Bay, Captain Stewart, and Cowell, went ashore with a boat's crew, professedly for sport. One of the sailors who gave evidence before the Sydney Magistrate said:—

“Three or four days after our arrival and before the landing of the Natives, the Captain and the Trading Master (Mr. Cowell) went on shore in the boat to shoot. There were four or five men of the ship in the boat unarmed, and on our return we met a canoe with a chief in it; he hailed us, and we pulled slowly till he came up with us; he was very glad to see us; Mr. Cowell spoke to him in the native language, and afterwards the chief came on board the ship—very gladly as it appeared to me. A little girl of about 11 years of age, and three or four natives, were with him. The little girl and the chief came on board our boat, and the other boat rowed away.”

Tamaiharanui was now in Stewart's power, and, all unconscious of the friends which awaited him on board the *Elizabeth*, was the first to climb on board when they reached the vessel's side. He was met on deck and accompanied to the cabin by Clementson, the chief mate. There the mate, with the assistance of three sailors, put him in irons. The old chief, says John Swan, the carpenter on board the *Elizabeth*, “made no resistance, but spoke and seemed much agitated.” The scene which followed with Te Rauparaha and Te Hiko before the old chief, is recorded by no eye witness, but probably no story in circulation exaggerates its horrors. After the chief had thus been secured, and on the same day, two canoes

with some six or seven natives, including the chief's wife, came on board this floating man-trap to carry on trade. At once they were seized by Te Rauparaha and put into the hold. No native found out the trap in time to get away and warn his tribesmen; not a shadow of suspicion of the awful truth was communicated ashore. Nothing now remained for Te Rauparaha to do but to land, and in form and manner as by Maori usage appointed or tolerated, to carry out the object of the expedition, until the last Akaroa native was dead or captured.

We have the authority of the second mate for the statement that when the chief had been secured in the hold and Te Rauparaha was making preparations for going ashore to complete the work of destruction, the crew of the *Elizabeth* wanted the captain to sail away and thus prevent further bloodshed. Stewart, however, was fearful that if Te Rauparaha found himself thwarted he would turn on the ship's crew and wreak his vengeance on them. As there were some 120 Maoris on board and only a mere handful of Europeans, the former had physical command of the brig. The fear expressed by Captain Briggs had come true, Stewart was no longer master of his own vessel.

Te Rauparaha waited until all was quiet that night, and, between the hours of one and two o'clock in the morning, the Akaroa canoes captured that day, manned by Kapiti Maoris, and the ship's skiff and whaleboat, manned by a crew from the vessel and accompanied by the infamous Stewart, pushed off from the ship's side and made for the shore. To make their work all the more effective the flotilla divided into two parts, one to the one side of the Bay, the other to the other. No European eye witnesses have described the scene for us but Akaroa's hills were that night lit with the fires of her burning whares, and her creeks were dyed with the blood of her slaughtered people. From the ship the sailors saw the fires of the burning whares. All night the work of butchery continued, and only those escaped the wild fury of Te Rauparaha who fled to the bush-clad mountains. Before breakfast the ship's

boats returned. Stewart came with them, as also did Te Rauparaha, and probably Te Hiko. It is alleged, by the only Maori whose evidence was taken in Sydney, that the European sailors took many of the Banks Peninsula natives prisoners, and handed them over to their Kapiti enemies. There is every reason to fear that this charge was correct.

After breakfast, Stewart and Te Rauparaha, with Cowell and a boat's crew, returned to the shore. All, by Stewart's orders, were well armed with small arms and swords. The village was still in flames and six or seven bodies of men, women, and children, who were killed during the night, were seen by the party. At the place where the boat landed were about a dozen of Te Rauparaha's men, and Cowell spoke to them when he came up. The boat stopped ashore for only half an hour, but during that time a woman, covered with blood, was seen to come out of one of the burning whares. She was at once set upon, pushed down the hill, and killed with spears. When the boat returned, Te Rauparaha and Te Hiko remained on shore to take part in the cannibal feast which was being prepared and to direct the ghastly work which was to follow that.

In the afternoon a boat from the ship visited the other side of the Bay. She was under the command either of Cowell or Richardson and remained for two hours when she brought back the two chiefs to the ship. By that time fires had been made, the bodies had been cooked, and what was not consumed had been packed into baskets for transport to Kapiti. That night the Kapiti natives returned on board the *Elizabeth* with their horrible burdens. Some twenty of those captured ashore were kept as prisoners to accompany the returning warriors, and were placed in the hold along with those who had been taken out of the canoes when they visited the *Elizabeth* the day before.

None taken prisoners on the ship were killed, nor were any of those killed on shore cooked on board, nor in the

cooking vessels belonging to the ship. All the bodies were cooked on shore in the primitive Maori fashion of the day, thus described by Captain Briggs who saw the Kapiti Islanders adopt it for the cooking of their food:—

“They dig a hole in the earth two feet deep, in which they make a quantity of round stones red hot with dry wood, after which they take out all the stones, except a few at the bottom, over which they lay several alternate tiers of leaves and flesh, until there is as much above ground as below—they then throw about two or three quarts of water over all—and confine the steam with old mats and earth so completely, that in 20 minutes the flesh is cooked; it is in this way that they cook and cure all their provisions.”

It was thus they occupied themselves after the massacre; it was thus they prepared the flesh of the dead which they brought on board the *Elizabeth*. As soon as the expedition had returned from their bloody work, Stewart ordered 10 guns to be fired.

As near as the author can determine from a careful analysis of the depositions and from other contemporary statements on the subject, the date of this awful event was 6th November, 1830.

The massacre over, the live prisoners secured on board the *Elizabeth*, the unconsumed flesh packed away in baskets in the ship's hold, and the death salute fired, Captain Stewart lifted the anchor and sailed for Kapiti to land this awful cargo and receive payment for his horrible services. On the voyage, with the object of preventing her falling into the hands of her captors, the old chief and his wife, who were confined in the fore cabin, strangled their little daughter. Burial was provided by the chief mate and some of the sailors throwing the body overboard. Tamaiharanui gave as a reason to Montefiore for the killing of his daughter, “One die, all die.” When this took place, the chief's wife was also put in irons. Kapiti was reached on the morning of 11th November.



About eleven o'clock on the day of landing preparations were made for embarking the miscellaneous cargo of live captives and dead human flesh. The prisoners, with the exception of Tamaiharanui, were marched on shore, and seated in rows on the beach, and the preserved flesh was carried off in baskets to the place appointed for the cannibal feast. It was estimated that about one hundred baskets of flesh were landed and that each basket contained the equivalent of one human body. That was probably an exaggeration. Then commenced the dance. The record by a Hobart Town reporter from an eyewitness of the scene reads as follows:—

“The warriors, entirely naked—their long black hair, although matted with human gore, yet flowing partially in the wind—in the left hand a human head—in the right a bayoneted musket held by the middle of the barrel. Thus, with a song, the terrible expression of which can only be imagined by being heard, did they dance round their wretched victims—every now and again, approaching them with gestures threatening death, under its most horrible forms of lingering torture. But they did not inflict it. None of them were killed.”

The captives, with the exception of one old man and a boy who were sentenced to death, were apportioned amongst the conquering warriors as slaves. The tables were laid. About a hundred baskets of potatoes, a large supply of green vegetables, and equal quantities of whale blubber and human flesh constituted the awful menu. The old man, from whose neck hung suspended the head of his son, while the body formed part of the cannibal feast, was brought forth and subjected to torture from the women before the last scene of all. Captain Briggs, an eyewitness of all this, made a desperate resolve to save the lives of the man and the boy, and, just as the axe was about to fall on the lad's head, he rushed forward at the risk of his own life, and, by threats and entreaties, saved the life of the boy altogether, and secured a respite of the old man's

execution for the space of one day. The banquet went on to a finish, and, though it proved none the less attractive to the participants, was rendered all the more hideous to the onlookers by the fact that the midsummer season when it took place, added to the hasty and incomplete manner in which the human flesh had been prepared in the ovens, caused the human—yet unhuman—food to become putrid in a most revolting form, before it was spread out for the banquet. The officers of the *Dragon* witnessed this frightful orgie, and some of them brought to Hobart Town mementoes of the scene, dissected from the bodies, as they lay out for the repast. The Maori lad who was saved accompanied Captain Briggs as his attendant, when he sailed, and held the position until he died, some three years later.

As the flax which was to repay Stewart for the charter of the brig was not at hand, Tamaiharanui was retained on board. There he remained until Montefiore, who had now arrived at Kapiti in the *Argo*, went on board and saw him on the 23rd or the 25th of December. Apparently he was not then in irons. Captain Briggs appears to have tried his best to induce Stewart to retain the chief on board, and, after getting what flax he could, to sail for Sydney. The same advice was given to him by others. Stewart thought he had gone too far to do that, and, although only a portion of the flax had been handed over to him, decided to surrender Tamaiharanui to Te Rauparaha.

Montefiore and Stewart were both on board the brig when this final act of perfidy was committed. Richardson brought the old man out from his place of captivity, and handed him over to his inhuman captor. Te Rauparaha first of all went with his prisoner over to Kapiti. Then he returned to the ship and Montefiore joined the boat. Cowell was the only other European on board. They sailed over to Otaki, which was about ten miles from where the *Elizabeth* was lying at anchor. There the Akaroa chief was landed and they all marched to the home of Te Rauparaha. On the following morning Montefiore visited Te

Hiko's settlement, and five or six hours afterwards Tamaiharanui arrived in a canoe. He was apparently being taken from place to place as the central figure of a Maori triumph, and at every place was being made the object of derision by his captors. Harvey, the European already mentioned as residing on the mainland, stated that the old chief was killed by sticking a knife into his throat. He pointed out the scene of the tragedy to Montefiore. It was a place called by the Maoris, Waikawa. The chief's wife had already been killed at Otaki. Both were eaten. A report current at the time was that Tamaiharanui was fixed to a cross and his throat cut by the widow of Te Pehi Kupe, the chief whom he had slain. It was also said that while she drank a portion of the blood as it flowed from the wound, her son, Te Hiko, tore out the eyes of his victim, and swallowed them, to prevent them being fixed in the firmament of stars, as Maoris believed would happen on such an event.

After waiting for over six weeks, and getting only 16 or 18 of the 50 tons of flax promised, Stewart, with Montefiore and Kemmis on board as passengers, took the *Elizabeth* on to Sydney, which was reached on 14th January, 1831.

Although the two passengers mentioned might have been expected to see that something was done to bring Stewart to justice, they appear to have taken no steps whatever, and it was not until Gordon Davies Browne, a merchant of Sydney who was interested in the New Zealand trade, took the matter up, that the crime was brought under the notice of the authorities. On the 5th 6th and 7th February, the Superintendent of Police at Sydney held an inquiry and took the depositions of G. D. Browne, J. B. Montefiore, and A. Kemmis, of Sydney, Pery, a native of Akaroa, and W. Brown and J. Swan, two of the crew of the *Elizabeth*. On the 7th, these depositions were forwarded to Governor Darling, with a recommendation by the police authorities that the opinion of the Crown Law Officers should be taken as to whether an

offence had been committed which could be punished under the Act 9, Geo. IV. c. 83. On the same day Mr. Moore, the Crown Law Officer, gave his opinion that the depositions did not disclose enough to warrant a commitment by the Magistrates, and that he doubted whether any offence had been committed which would come under the criminal law of England. On the twelfth, the Colonial Secretary, by direction of Governor Darling, instructed Mr. Moore to file criminal informations against the master (Stewart), the mate (Clementson), Cowell, Richardson, and G. Brown, "considering it a case in which the character of the nation was implicated and that every possible exertion should be used to bring the offenders to justice." The warrants were at once prepared by Moore but some difficulty was experienced in getting the necessary information from the agents of the vessel and from the police. In due course, however, the warrants were obtained from the Court, but the fact of proceedings having been commenced must have leaked out, as the Chief Constable could find no one but Stewart: the others had vanished. Although the charge was one of murder, Moore agreed, considering the uncertainty of the legal position, that Stewart should be admitted to bail, himself in the sum of £500, and two sureties in the sum of £500 each. Mr. Browne's solicitor stated that efforts were being made by residents of Sydney to get the accused and the material witnesses removed beyond the jurisdiction of the Court. The delay from 14th January to 5th February evidently enabled that to be done.

The same unsatisfactory condition of things followed Stewart's arrest. Time wore on. On 21st May, Moore stated in Court that he did not intend to proceed with the charge of murder, but would prosecute a charge of misdemeanour on the Monday following, or, if he did not, would abandon the prosecution altogether. When the Monday came he was still unprepared, but the Court refused Counsel's motion to discharge the recognizances. On 1st June another application of a like nature was, after



judgment reserved, declined. Seventeen days afterwards Stewart obtained his release, without even the semblance of a trial for his crime.

Meanwhile, under date of 13th April, Governor Darling had sent a copy of the papers connected with the case to London, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This report indicates very clearly the Governor's opinion that the proceedings against Stewart would end in nothing. Darling's communication found its way, in the ordinary official course, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, who set about consideration of it with the utmost vigour. The opinion of the King's Advocate and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, on the law points raised, was taken and turned out quite opposed to that of the Crown Solicitor at Sydney. It stated—

“We think it clear that by the Law of England Captain Stewart and Clementson as the Mate are guilty as accomplices before the Fact, to the Murder of Mara Nui and his wife if not to that of the Tribe which was massacred and we think the fact fully proved by the witnesses. It is also clear that the 3rd and 4th sections of the 9th of Geo. 4. Cap. 83 give the Court at Van Diemens Land jurisdiction to try these offences. We therefore lament that measures for securing and bringing them to trial were not taken at New South Wales. We advise that they should be apprehended as they can be met with, and brought to their Trial when the attendance of the witnesses against them can be procured.”

It was not until this that any reply was sent to Governor Darling's despatch. On 31st January, 1832, Lord Goderich expressed in no uncertain terms his detestation of the doings of Captain Stewart. His despatch to Governor Bourke, Darling's successor, contains these memorable words:—

“It is impossible to read without shame and indignation the details which these documents disclose. The unfortunate Natives of New Zealand, unless some

decisive measures of prevention be adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous Tribes, who in different parts of the Globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with Civilized Men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians, when, for mercenary purposes, the Natives of Europe minister to the passions by which these Savages are inflamed against each other, and introduce them to the knowledge of depraved acts and licentious gratifications of the most debased inhabitants of our great Cities, the inevitable consequence is, a rapid decline of population preceded by every variety of suffering."

The Lords of the Treasury did not permit it to rest at that. On receipt of the opinion of the law advisers they decided that, late as it was, every effort should be made to bring the offenders to justice, and they gave instructions accordingly. They left not a stone unturned. From the Secretary of the Customs, London, came word that as the brig had not returned to that port, he could not say where Stewart and Clementson were. All efforts made to secure the names of the crew were also futile. Information from Yarmouth was to the effect that Stewart had severed his connection with the *Elizabeth*. That was all the information which could be obtained up to April. In regard to the desire of the Lords of the Treasury to follow the matter to the end they were informed that the great difficulty in the way of doing anything in England was the absence of the accused and of the witnesses, and that all that could be done was to keep a close look-out for the return of the brig and her crew. Until she was secured, nothing further was possible in the way of legal proceedings.

Stewart is said to have perished at sea, but little or no evidence can be found of what his end really was.

The responsibility for this shocking miscarriage of justice must rest with someone in Sydney. Montefiore and Kemmis appear not to have considered it to be any part of their duty to take steps in the matter. To incur the hostility of Te Rauparaha would have killed their chances

in the Cook Strait flax trade. That, of course, may not have been their reason. As the result of proceedings being left to an outsider, twenty-two days passed before the depositions were taken by the Superintendent of Police. This officer even then appears to have doubted whether the offence was one which was punishable. On 7th February, Mr. Moore, the Crown Solicitor, advised that the evidence was not sufficient, nor was the legal position clear. Twenty-four days had elapsed and an enquiry had been held. The seamen involved had plenty of time to transact their business in Sydney, and the enquiry was a warning of coming prosecution. Naturally they were on the move. In spite of that, five days were allowed to pass before Moore received instructions—which he did on the twelfth—to prosecute the parties. The instructions came too late. All but Stewart had fled. That five days' delay may easily have been responsible for what followed. It is also worthy of notice that though, on 12th February, Governor Darling sent peremptory orders for the prosecution of the culprits, he never made enquiries how things were proceeding until 8th April. The fact that he was sending to London a despatch on 13th April would suggest that the enquiry was then made to enable him to report the position to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that it would not have been made but for the Home despatch. We also know that, on or about this date, Marsden had had two interviews with Darling on the same matter, and on other subjects of complaint by Maoris of the intervention of Europeans in their quarrels. From whatever cause, we know that the inaction of the Governor, the erroneous view of the Crown Law Officer, and the fear in the mind of the Superintendent of Police that he was exceeding his duty, all combined to cheat the gallows of a most deserving case. Browne's Solicitor indicated to Moore that strong pressure was being exerted by influential men in Sydney to get the accused and the witnesses out of the road. There was probably something in that charge. The system was not unknown there at the time, and if, in this case, it was true and was

not responsible in some measure for the action of the three officers alluded to, it would, at any rate, find all difficulties removed by the strange proceedings of these three gentlemen. It only remains to add that Thomas Street, a Sydney merchant, had chartered the vessel for the voyage. The same man had also been interested in the *Samuel*, which was mentioned by Te Rauparaha when seeking to enlist the services of Captain Stewart. Street would also be in the same position as Montefiore. He does not appear to have helped the authorities in the slightest.

To the credit of the Home Authorities not only did they enter their most emphatic protest and call on the officers for an explanation, but they also tried to make good the inaction at Sydney by taking every step in their power to bring the accused to trial in London.

The only results which followed these futile investigations were two: the attention of the Admiralty was called to the necessity of more regular visits of men-of-war, and instructions were issued to that effect, and the appointment of a British Resident for New Zealand was approved. In the further narrative these two important developments will be dealt with only so far as they affect the southern portion of New Zealand.

The more important of the official papers connected with this historic incident will be found set out as Appendix "A."



## CHAPTER III.

### THE DEFENCE OF NGA-MOTU, 1832.

This chapter consists of five letters found by the author in the columns of the "Sydney Monitor" of 10th, 17th, and 20th April, and 1st and 4th May, 1833, giving an account of the defence of the Nga-Motu Pa from 28th January to 23rd February, 1832, by its Maori occupants, aided by a party of Europeans traders resident at that place. As the author lays no claim to a knowledge of Maori history, he asked Mr. W. H. Skinner, Commissioner of Crown Lands for Nelson, and formerly a resident of New Plymouth, who has given the subject of the Maori invasions of Taranaki special study, to write an introduction to the "letters" and to supply explanatory notes of the names given and the customs referred to in them. These Mr. Skinner has done, and a perusal of his work will show how much would have been lost had his information not been at the reader's disposal.

### THE INTRODUCTION.

The recovery by Mr. McNab of the series of five letters written just eighty years ago by one of the shore whaling party at Moturoa, or the Sugar Loaves, New Plymouth, and published in the "Sydney Monitor" of April 10th, 1833, and succeeding issues, is of more than passing interest, interwoven as the story is with the history of the whole south-west coast of the North Island. The letters describe the closing scenes of the long blood feud between the Waikato-Maniapoto and allied tribes and the Ngati-Awa—Ngati-Tama—Taranaki combination. For generations, these tribes had been warring against each other, and in a general summing up, as long as the old Maori weapons were in use, honours may be said to have remained even. But the advent of the Pakeha musket altered all

this. Armed with the new weapon, the Rarawa, Ngapui, Ngati-Whatua and allied peoples of the extreme northern portion of New Zealand, better known as the Bay of Islands tribes, started out in the early years of the 19th century on a series of sanguinary raids against the unarmed—that is without firearms—tribes to the south. These in their turn, seeing that the non-possession of muskets spelt, sooner or later, extermination, strove with might and main to become possessed of such, and fabulous prices were given to the traders by way of exchange in flax and other commodities, by the natives, for these coveted articles, and often it was discovered that a useless article had been pawned off on the unsuspecting Maori by the unscrupulous trader. Once possessed of firearms they in their turn pressed south and ever south, and thus it came about that the famous warrior and diplomat, the most able Maori leader of his day and generation—Raparaha—seeing clearly what would happen if he remained at Kawhia, promptly decided to move south and conquer fresh lands, rather than be overwhelmed by the great tribes to the north and east who were already on the move to compass his destruction. Accordingly, he and the whole of his people set forth on that *heke* or migration, which shows us the abundant resourcefulness, courage and craftiness of the man more than any other incident in his long and enterprising career. For particulars of this *heke*, and his story generally, we refer those interested to the “History of the Taranaki Coast,” published by the Polynesian Society. Raparaha, who was connected with the Ngati-Awa and Taranaki people, induced many of these to join him in his migration, and as the story of his successes came to be told, *heke* after *heke* followed in the wake of the first, until but a remnant of the once most numerous and warlike tribes of northern Taranaki—Cape Egmont to Mokau—remained. Thus weakened, the country fell an easy prey to the Waikato combination, who, besides greatly outnumbering the Taranaki people, were armed almost to a man with firearms, while the local tribes were poorly

supplied with muskets, and were dependent almost entirely upon the old Maori weapons of wood and stone.

The letters open with an account of the siege and capture by the Waikato of the great fighting pa of Puke-rangiora, on the Waitara River, and the accompanying horrors of lust and cannibalism. This was one of the most momentous events and the greatest disaster that ever happened to the Taranaki people, resulting eventually in the practical abandonment of the whole coast from Mokau to Patea. Flushed with success and overburdened with human flesh, upon which they fed unstintedly, the great *taua*, or war party, moved on to Nga-Motu—The Sugar Loaves—twelve miles distant, with the avowed object of capturing and devouring the remnant of the tribe sheltering at that settlement, and also of the Europeans who were working a whaling and trading station at that place. This station had been established in 1828 or early in 1829, and at the time of the siege—February 1832—was under the direction of John Love, or Akerau, as the natives called him, with Richard Barrett, so well known through Wakefield's description of him in his "Adventures in New Zealand," as second in command. The letters tell the story of the three week siege with a vividness and reality that could only be infused by one taking an actual part in its varying fortunes. The final success lay with the Nga-Motu Natives and the whalers, but the impression made by the fall and dreadful slaughter at Puke-rangiora and by their knowledge that the enemy would inevitably return, better armed and in larger numbers, to take *utu* or revenge for their losses in the siege, determined the remainder of the Ngati-Awa people to migrate south and join forces with their tribesmen and allies under Rau-paraha and other noted leaders in the neighbourhood of Kapiti and Port Nicholson. Accordingly in the following June practically all that remained in North Taranaki joined forces near to what is now the Sentry Hill Railway Station, and marched to the number of over two thousand men, women and children through the forest at the base

of Mount Egmont, coming on to the coast again at Hawera, and thence on through many dangers and much fighting to their destination. This *heke* or migration is known as "Tama-te-Uaua." For a full and graphic description of which see page 488 of the "Maori History of the Taranaki Coast," already quoted. This migration left North Taranaki practically deserted, save a miserable remnant who sheltered on the Sugar Loaf Islands. Its great pas and numberless plantations and gardens speedily fell into decay and ruin. To quote the words of Ihaia Te Kiri-Kumara, a leading Ngati-Awa chief, "All was quite deserted—the land, the sea, the streams, the lakes, the forests, the rocks, the food, the property, the works; the dead and the sick were deserted; the land marks were deserted."

The names of the traders who assisted in the defence of Nga-Motu Pa were:—

John Love (Haki-rau), the leader of party.

Richard Barrett (Tiki Parete).

Billy Bundy (Piri).

John Wright (Harakeke).

— Bosworth.

Wm. Keenan.

Daniel Hy. Sheridan (Tami-rere), the historian of siege.

George Ashdown.

— Lee (E'Tori) the negro cook.

#### THE LETTERS.

[Mr. Skinner's notes are shewn thus (. . .)].

A correct account of the siege and horrid transactions which happened between the tribes of Wicatto (Waikato) and Tarranchy (Taranaki), commencing January 2, 1832, and ending February 23. The natives of Tarranchy (Taranaki) have at different times been put in alarm on hearing false reports of the Wicattos (Waikato) being on their journey towards their settlements, to seek revenge for some former grievance, which they were well aware existed between them, and finding the reports to be false,



they did not put much confidence in the latter, which they have since found to be too true. On the 25th of November, 1831, a boat arrived at Mutarau (Moturoa)\* from Corfea (Kawhia), with natives, under a false pretence of procuring a particular sort of provisions for their chiefs, and also reported that the Wicatto (Waikato) tribes had reached as far as Mocow (Mokau), and returned back towards their own settlements. The natives of Mutarau (Moturoa), not doubting the integrity of their artful story, supplied them with every necessary they required, repaired their boat, and allowed them to return. On the 24th of December, in a few hours after their departure, the fires of the enemy were observed fifty miles to the northward, at a place called Tongaporutu, proceeding towards a place called Bucharangcoala (Puke-rangiora). The different tribes of Tarranchy (Taranaki) and Namuty (Nga-Motu) collected together to go down to meet them, but on perceiving the multitude they had to contend with, their spirits drooped, and they thought it a much wiser plan to return, which they accordingly did. They then consulted among themselves, and all the natives within six miles of our residence (Moturoa) fled to Bucharangcoala (Puke-rangiora), where they enclosed themselves within a slight fence, to the number of about three thousand souls, men, women, and children, and a very scanty stock of provisions with them, to sustain such a number for a length of time. It was impossible for them to conjecture that their enemy might blockade them. On their approaching near the place, they took two men and one woman, slaves, which they killed, but did not eat, as it is their custom to feed their gods with the first slain in battle.† They shortly afterwards took twenty-five women slaves, most of which they ate, and commenced burning, destroying, and laying waste the country, as those horrid wretches approached to commit the most bloody and treacherous deeds that have ever been recorded in the annals of history. When they

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\*Site of present Breakwater, New Plymouth.

†Ceremony of *Wanga-Nau*, when the heart of the first victims, the *Mata-Ngohi* is offered as a sacrifice to the god of war.

arrived at a place called Friterra (Waitara), having a river to cross, our natives made a slight defence, to try and prevent them, but were obliged to retreat, killing two of the enemy. January 2, 1832, they surrounded Bucharang-coala (Puke-rangiora), and on the 3d. at daybreak, they attempted to take it by storm, in which they were defeated, with the loss of four chiefs and ten men killed; on our side two killed. On the 9th the enemy had one man killed; on the 10th four killed; on the 11th one chief killed; on the 13th six killed; on the 14th ten killed; on the 19th twelve killed. On the 21st the besieged wretches, being entirely exhausted for the want of provisions, and having no possible means of replenishing their stock, and a vast number not having a morsel to eat for several days previous, finding themselves entangled in this dreadful situation, being certain of death if they remained there, and not having the courage to go boldly out and face their enemy, which they might with little difficulty have conquered on their first arrival, they broke down part of the fence to endeavour to make their escape, in open daylight, so ignorant are those wretches. Those who had plenty of provisions would not divide with the starving, and not even with the distant tribes who voluntarily went into their part to their assistance, and had not time to procure a sufficiency. The enemy perceiving them running in such disorder, they advanced from all quarters, making a dreadful slaughter, not sparing man, woman, or child. Many were so weak with starvation (mere skeletons) that they were deprived of the use of their limbs, and could not even bear the weight of their musket; and those at the opposite end of the par not being aware of the intention of breaking down the fence, at this critical moment, took their children in their arms and threw themselves over cliffs of a tremendous height, so great is the dread of these savages of being eat by one another. Fear prevented others from making the least resistance whatever, and of course they became an easy prey. The principal part of their prisoners, that day, were cripples, women and children; the remainder making

their escape as well as their weak state would allow them. A party of the enemy were employed in despatching as many as would be sufficient for the evening's meal; their slaves getting their ovens ready, and the remainder went in search of more prey, which they found, to the number of twelve hundred. On the 23d they commenced the slaughter of the prisoners that were taken alive. They were all crammed into huts, well guarded, the principal chief, executioner, with a sharp tomahawk in his hand, ready to receive them. They were then called out, one by one. Those that had well carved or tattooed hands, had their hands cut off on a block, the body quartered and hung upon fences, which were erected for that purpose; those with indifferent heads received one blow, and then dragged to a hole to bleed. The chief (Te Wherowhero), complaining of his arm being tired, after despatching about three hundred, *very mercifully* respited the remainder until next morning, when this monstrous cannibal commenced business with as much cheerful gaiety as if he was going to some grand entertainment. The young children, and grown up lads, were cut down the belly, then roasted on sticks before the fire. There was no mercy shown. I have, since this bloody deed has been committed, paid a visit to the fatal spot, to view the remains of this horrid carnage. Within several miles of the par (pa), in different directions, are placed in the ground pieces of wood, painted red, as a memorial of the spot where those that were left behind had some friend or relation slain. On advancing nearer, is a heap of bones, since burned, as near as I can imagine of about three hundred persons. Thence to about a quarter of a mile are skeletons, not burned, strewed about the place where the enemy had formed their settlements, and the ovens still remaining where they had been cooked. I believe they did not eat any flesh inside the place where they butchered them, as I could not see any bones in it; it had not been disturbed since the savages left it to pay us a visit. The block they struck the fatal blow on, was still remaining, the blood and the

notches from the axe were still quite fresh. The trees in the par were stripped of their leaves, and the branches thereof supplied instead, with dead bodies, cleaned and ready for cooking. On taking a general view of the place, I observed the enemy had formed three different settlements, and in each of them was a heap of bones similar to the first I had seen, and also to each, a rack, placed along the spot where they eat their victuals; on it they put the heads of their unfortunate victims, that they may continually keep the objects of their revenge in their sight and mind, which is the continued blood-thirsty practice of this disgraceful race, whose constant study is, meditating the death of their fellow-countrymen. I have scarcely sufficient words to describe the horrid spectacle, and what was still more barbarous in the wretches that had made their escape and got safe into the bush from the Wicatto (Waikato) tribes, there being some old grievances between them, the stronger party fell upon the remainder of those tribes which had left their own settlements at a considerable distance, to come to their assistance, and slaughtered them in as cruel a manner as the enemy had served their fathers and brothers, only a day before; so treacherous is the heart of a New Zealander, even in the greatest distress, that he will never forget or forgive an injury, although it may have been sustained by accident. When these savages had satisfied their voracious appetites, at Bucharangeala (Puke-rangiora), and the adjacent settlements, they proceeded on their journey towards Maturee (Moturoa), feasting sumptuously, and enjoying their spoil as they marched along, conceiving among themselves, that they had achieved a most glorious victory, and not doubting in the least, but that they would soon be conquerors of a few more hundreds, with a great deal more ease than the former, well knowing, they had only a handful of men to contend with, in comparison with the numbers that were enclosed at Bucharangeala (Puke-rangiora), but amongst the few in number were eleven Europeans, who had firmly resolved to die rather than be taken alive; necessity compelling them to



remain on the spot, and protect their property, not having any place of security to fly to. As for the Natives' bravery, I cannot boast much, as most of their victories are obtained by artifice and treachery; they dread the thoughts of being eat after death, much more than death itself, and will run more risque in getting a dead body to have a feast, than they will to meet their enemies. On the 28th, a party of Wicatto was observed coming along the beach, of about one hundred, which put the whole settlement in confusion, and leave off their employment, which was in cutting trenches inside the fence, and building banks with clay, intermixed with fern, round their huts, to prevent musketry from penetrating, which proved to be a very good scheme; the women were busy in bringing in the provisions, which were scarcely ripe enough to take out of the ground, but were very acceptable at that time; a party went on the beach to receive the enemy; they commenced firing, which continued for about an hour, and no damage done on either side; when they retreated to a short distance, to join the remainder of their tribes, about sixteen hundred, able and well armed, and a vast number of slaves, to contend with two hundred and fifty, and only one hundred muskets, three long guns, and one small swivel, placed in a good direction as we expected they would attack us. Previous to their arrival, the Europeans drew lots for their stations at each of the guns, which allowed three to each and two to the swivel. We had plenty of powder, but very scarce of balls, for which stones served as a substitute; but I am very sorry to say they did not give us much occasion to fire at them, always leaving us a wide berth; and the place being so full of trees, and very unlevel ground, we found it impossible to get them to bear upon them. On the 30th they blockaded us on three sides, forming their settlements at a quarter of a mile distant; one at each end, and the other in the centre, at the back of a large and high hill, which completely overlooked the par, and made it very dangerous in walking through it. The par being situated on steep ground, up from the beach, they could not form

a settlement on that side; but, however, it was impossible for any person to make their escape unperceived by the enemy. On the 31st we observed one of the principal chiefs walking up the beach towards us, waving his mat as a signal for a truce. He wished to have a parley with our chief, who went to meet him.

They were relations and had a long conversation upon different subjects, but mostly concerning the intended battle. He dwelt very much upon the last place he had taken, Bucharangeolas (Puke-rangiora), and such a quantity of men, that it would be impossible for so few to contend with the numbers he was then surrounded with, and advised him strongly to surrender and he should not be hurt. Our chief told him, that such news would be very disagreeable to his children and brother chieftains, to be delivered up as slaves, killed and eat, without first trying their valour, and pressed his relation, the Conoway (Te Kanawa, of Kawhia) by name, to return without any more bloodshed, hinting, at the same time, that he had already dyed his hands too deep; he, after a long persuasion, consented to return on the next day, which was as false as he proved to be deceitful, for shortly after his return to his settlement, a general firing commenced from all quarters for about 20 minutes. We had on our side three killed and four wounded, on the enemies' five killed and seven wounded. A deep silence ensued, during those intervals, from day to day. Any of the natives that had any friend or relation on the enemy's side were permitted to pass and repass unmolested to see them, and on the opposite side were allowed to come into the par, each party telling different stories, the strength and number of their people, and every transaction that occurred. We, Europeans, had several times tried to persuade the different chiefs to prevent such intercourse, as being very injurious to the par, but to no effect; they had not the least control over them, and would still persist it was for their good, believing every story the artful enemy would send in, and which we well knew to be deceit. February the 2nd they

sent a slave in with a message, that the head chief of the Moneapotto (Mania-poto) tribe would wish to speak with ours, to which he gave his consent, appointing a time and place to meet; they accordingly met on a plain a little distance from the par. I must here remark that the principal of their chiefs and ours, Namuty (Nga-Motu) are very near related; and in former days when in battle, a long time previous to their having the use of firearms, only their own implements of destruction—spears, nipes, and an instrument made of a beautiful blue or green marble stone, which they call a Mary (mere), none but a chief is allowed to take them to battle, they are very scarce and very dear. Our tribes had taken them all slaves, spared their lives and gave them their freedom, which plainly describes the gratitude of a New Zealander; whom at this time had only formed a pretended quarrel that could assign some reason for their coming to sacrifice their ancient conquerors and friends. Their conversation on the plain turned towards their former merciful and good deeds, and for what reason they should then come to murder their own friends, relations, and children; which, at that present time, made the monster ashamed, and promise he would return to his own land; they parted accordingly in seeming good friendship. This news was too good to be true; no sooner was his back turned, the venom clung to his heart again, and to complete his deception, he caused the whole tribe to dance that evening in two parties upon a plain, laying themselves open to our guns. They were not in the least interrupted in their amusements, as it is a signal with the natives of either friendship or war. Ours were in great glee, expecting it was the former, and that they would be rid of such unwelcome guests; on the next day they cooked an extra meal; but to their great surprise, they renewed their animosity on the following morning, not exhibiting the slightest symptoms of a retreat. It would be too tedious for me to mention the many different and artful stories they would send to our chiefs, and with great difficulty we could persuade them, that it was only deceit.

Their intention was to take the place by night, thinking that by their stories every person would go to sleep contented. When they found that that was to no purpose, and that the white people annoyed them by keeping a good look out for them, they then tried to entice us out to them, and told us we would not be hurt; it was all to no purpose; we were certain of death had they once laid hands on us. We cheered our natives up, and told them to be brave and obstinate, and that they never would be taken, unless they stopped to starve us out; we had then three months' provisions in the par, and those that were short, we recommended the rest to share theirs with them, which they did. We, white people, have frequently been in more dread of the natives in the par than those outside, expecting civil wars amongst them, and we have several times threatened to break down the fence on the least quarrel. If any of their relations happened to be shot, there was sure to be a row, allusions to different frivolous faults; so that we were constantly busy trying to keep peace inside, and look out sharply for those outside. One instance of these civil wars—a woman (Te Wau) who had a few words with her sister, instantly ran out upon the fight, and upon her arrival there, they commenced quarrelling which of them should have her. Their chief, on perceiving the row, immediately despatched her with a tomahawk, visible to those in the par. The villainy of these wretches! to prevent our people drinking the water that run towards the place, they washed her body and threw her entrails in it, which, in their superstitious religion, made it sacred, and made us very badly off for water. They then eat her, cured the head, and sent it to her friends, who still keep it as a memorial of her miserable end. On their perceiving that we were resolute, and fully bent on holding the ground, they commenced digging trenches so close to the par, that they could converse with us with the greatest ease every evening after sunset, and tell every transaction that happened during the day; the number of people killed and wounded; and their names. I have often been surprised.



to hear them conversing, seemingly as if nothing was the matter, or no enmity existed between them, only five or six yards distant, and one afraid of lifting up his head, knowing the other would shoot him. So jealous of the white people were our natives, that they would not allow us to hold any conversation whatever with the enemy. Their intention in digging was, to undermine until they came to the fence, so that they could haul it down with ease; which rather alarmed us at first, as we could not get a gun to bear on them; however they lost a good many, killed by musketry. During that employment, we advised our natives to dig also and meet them, which they immediately did and prevented them of their bloody scheme, which put them to a stand. They then formed a plan of setting fire to the fence, which, if they had carried into execution, would have proved very destructive, on account of so many houses enclosed in such a small space, and so close to the fence.

If one had caught fire, the whole certainly would have been consumed, but they, fortunately for us, failed in their attempt, which gave our natives fresh courage. However, they still remained in great anxiety, putting their wits end to work which way they could take the place, without the loss of any more men, who were dropping very fast, having lost every day from twenty to thirty, so fully determined were they to take us white people slaves to Wicatto, and plunder the property which was enclosed in the par. Most of the tribes were bent upon killing us. At length the *Currency Lass* schooner arrived, Captain Hackell (Buckell), which was a very pleasant object to us, being in expectation of a supply of provisions, which were then getting scarce, not having any other sort of food but potatoes. Wicatto (Waikato) having deprived us of three hundred pigs, and a supply of musket balls; but to add fresh scenes of misery to the number of difficulties which we were then overwhelmed with, these hounds of hell prevented us from receiving the least assistance whatever from the vessel. They launched two canoes, and endea-

voured to board her, but failed in the attempt. Our natives railed me on board, amidst showers of musketry, and returned unhurt in the same manner. The following day Toarawaro (Te Wherowhero), the head chief of Wicatto, and from our par Mr. Love, with a crew of natives in a canoe, went on board. Mr. Love had a long conversation with Towrawara (Te Whero Whero) concerning his intention, if he took the par, as to what he would do with the white people, should they happen to be taken alive. He said, he did not mean to kill them; he only intended to take them slaves to Captain Kefil, in Corfea (Kawhia). Mr. Love then wished to know, what injury any of their tribes had sustained from the white men, that had induced him to come to their habitations to rob and murder them, or, as he termed it, to take them slaves? telling him at the same time, that he had not come there to fight New Zealanders; he had only come there to trade with them. Towarawara (Te Wherowhero) said, that was very good, but that he could only command his own tribe, and the remainder were fully determined on taking them, and very likely killing them. However, he requested Mr. Love would condescend to meet him next day on the beach, both to be unarmed, and he would then acquaint him of his determination, to which he consented. During this time, Captain Bucknell (Buckell) was endeavouring to get a quantity of flax on board, but found it was impossible, for he could not even land in the schooner's boat, there being a continual firing from the beach. Mr. Love had a very narrow escape, having to land in the midst of it; but fortunately, the New Zealanders are very bad marksmen. On the following day, Towarawara (Te Wherowhero) sent a slave to acquaint Mr. Love, that he was going to the beach, where they met, according to agreement, and remained in conversation about an hour. Towarawara (Te Wherowhero) agreed to return with his own tribe, as it might entice the others to follow his example, as his verbal persuasions were fruitless. He strongly pressed Mr. Love to retire with him to his settlement assuring him he might

return when he thought proper, as he was very partial to his conversation. The latter being rather dubious of his honourable intention, begged leave to be excused, and made a very cordial farewell, advising him not to forget his promise—which he certainly kept, for he retired—to be ready at a call. We were continually on the alert, night and day at our guns, expecting every moment to be attacked, and in fact wishing for it, for really we were getting quite tired hearing so many different stories. Every morning brought forth fresh tidings of their determined and unmerciful revenge, no doubt expecting it would daunt the hearts of their intended victims, and make them surrender; and I must say, that the par would have been taken with ease, and very little loss on the enemy's side, had not the white men kept so strict a watch at night as they did; for the natives would lie in the trenches with their arms, cover themselves up with their blanket or mat, and fall fast asleep! I have frequently fired a musket close to their ear, and it would not waken them, so sweet would those savages enjoy repose, with death staring them in the face. It is my opinion that both parties are alike, which made ours place such confidence in their most bitter enemies. There was another instance which I thought a curious mode of carrying on war. For several days the natives came into the par and traded, selling their muskets, and several other things, trinkets, &c., which they had plundered at Bucharangcoala (Puke-rangiora), for blankets, and other commodities they were in want of. During this time, we received intelligence of the unfortunate Thomas Ralph, a young man, employed by Mr. Monefiore, merchant, of Sydney, to trade for flax, and landed in Mocow (Mokau). On the 12th or 13th of January, a tribe called Nauty Tamma (Ngati-Tama) took the advantage during the time the natives of Mocow (Mokau) were enjoying the fruits of their plunder at Bucharangcoala (Puke-rangiora) and Mutarau (Moturoa), they having only left behind them two old men and five women to protect the settlement. On the above mentioned

day the horrid savages surrounded his house in the middle of the night, but fear prevented them from doing any mischief until daybreak, when they ventured in, and slaughtered the unfortunate old woman—the two men made their escape. Luckily for Ralph and his woman, they remained in the house until the fury of their enemies had a little subsided; after which they were called out of the house, and many of them were for killing him at once. Their chief interfering, said, spare the white man for the present, until we hear if Wicatto has killed the white men at Mutarau; and, if they have, we will kill him for payment. They took the woman he was living with, and would not allow him to speak to her; they then stripped him, and left him only his shirt and trowsers to wear, and plundered the remainder of the merchandize, muskets, powder, &c., and then set fire to about twenty tons of flax, which he had procured for his employer, in Sydney. In this miserable condition they obliged him to travel with them to their settlement, a long distance in the interior, and would upon no account allow him to go to Corfea (Kawhia), which he earnestly requested of them, well knowing his life was in danger while in their custody, and expecting every moment they would put a period to his existence. In this sad dilemma he attempted to make his escape to Corfea (Kawhia), but those fiends of hell pursued and overtook him, which rendered his situation more miserable—the night being dark, and he not being well acquainted with the road, prevented him from making his progress so rapid as his heart could allow him. What was his surprise on hearing the voice of savages around him, about twenty in number, and even then afraid to face an unarmed man? After a long pause they ventured up to him, with uplifted tomahawks. He expected death, but, fortunately for him, the chief's son interfered on his behalf, and prevented them from committing murder, but could not stop them from stripping him stark naked, throwing him an old mat to cover his nakedness, and compelling him to return back with them to their settlement. They did not stint him of



victuals, for of such as they had, they gave him a sufficient quantity, which is the only good principle that I am aware a New Zealander possesses; for they will share with a white man should he stand in need of it. In a few days afterwards, a dispute arose amongst the tribe concerning Ralph's woman. A party of them had resolved to despatch him for payment, and a monster came behind him while sitting eating some potatoes for breakfast, and snapped his musket, which, fortunately, missed fire. Another, on perceiving this fellow's manoeuvres, instantly seized the piece, which spared his life. I have frequently heard him say, that he has several times told them to kill him, and put an end to the misery he was then involved in. I will here leave him with the natives of Nauty Tamma (Ngati-Tama), and return to our antagonists, who were very busily employed in building small but high places to fire out of, which they call towmies (tau maihi, or fighting stages), within about one hundred yards distance from the par, which rather annoyed us more than usual, and made it very dangerous passing and repassing; and so effectually did they build them with clay, intermixed with fern, that our guns would not take the least effect, our ammunition consisting only of stones and broken pieces of iron.

On one of those days of their trading in the par, a dispute arose between our natives and the enemy, and firing commenced on both sides; ours came off victorious, having double the advantage of those outside, killing several, and they managed to get one man inside, which they buried, according to their custom; the first taken in battle they give to feed their Athna (Atua), the name of their God; on the 20th of February they had completed four of their towers, which made the white people especially very careful in walking to and fro in the par; they were sure to be saluted by four or five muskets being fired at them, but, thank God, they could not gratify their malicious designs. On the same date, a very serious accident had very nearly occurred to two of them who were firing the swivel, for it burst, and several of the pieces passing between them, went

into the bank, not hurting either; it was a great loss to us with regard to defence, it protecting one end of the par, and being the most serviceable piece we had, on account of its being so handy in altering its position to different parts, where it was most likely to do execution. On the 22nd we received the information, that they intended to storm us on the following morning, and to take us by surprise at daybreak; and I can safely say that during the seige, I did not see a better watch kept by the natives than was kept that night; every man was in his station and armed, those who had not fire arms, were supplied with spears, tomahawks, and other native implements of war, which they use with great dexterity. About sunrise one of the white men observed a stir outside more than usual, and he asked the chief if he should give them a gun to let them know we were ready for them; he said no, he was going out to have a talk with them, and he was certain they would return; of course it made us all easy, in hopes it would be settled without any more bloodshed, and not doubting but that he could do so, as they sent word the previous evening, that they wanted to speak to him. Surely he ought to have judged better within himself, knowing they had deceived him twice, than to have put any confidence in them a third time; feeding ourselves with hopes of their departure, and being wearied, we ventured to go to our beds for an hour or two, but had not long been there, when a sharp firing recommenced from all quarters, and a general salley to the fence, some cutting it down with long tomahawks, and several had got inside before a man could get to his station, in the midst of showers of musketry we had to run to our guns, which were always kept loaded; almost naked, having nothing on but a shirt; we fired on them which proved effectual, for after they received our first fire, they began to draw back, dragging their dead after them, and throwing them into their trenches—it appears they had lain in ambush previous to the attack. The firing on both sides continued about forty minutes, and concluded with a dreadful slaughter on the part of the enemy. I must say,

that those who did fight inside, fought bravely, and I am certain that one half of them never fired a shot, but stood in amazement till the enemy had disappeared, which they lost no time in doing, for so rapid was their flight, that they did not take time to burn all their dead, but placed them on the top of their huts, and then set fire to them;—others who had relations wounded so that they could not walk, they would quarter and divide amongst them to carry, in preference to letting them remain for the enemy to eat; in twenty minutes there was not one of them to be seen, Our party being few in number, could not go in pursuit of them, but allowed them to return with a loss of two hundred killed that morning. On our natives perceiving the coast was clear, they ventured out in search of prey; they found several bodies half roasted, some lay bleeding in their gore, others slightly wounded; their friends could not assist them, but were obliged to let them remain, and fly for their own safety; they had no mercy shown to them, being cut up on the spot. It made my blood run cold to behold a scene of the most horrid barbarity, of which I was thus compelled to be an eye-witness. I have not sufficient words to express my weak opinion of a race of the most depraved wretches that nature ever formed;—I will here explain an instance of their cruelty, which with horror I beheld. To the gun I was stationed at, they dragged a man slightly wounded in the leg, and tied him hand and foot until the battle was over, they loosed him, and put some question to him, which he could not answer nor give them any satisfaction thereof, as he knew his doom; they then took the fatal tomahawk and put it between his teeth, while another pierced his throat for a chief to drink his blood, others at the same time were cutting his arms and legs off, he never seemed to shrink; they then cut off his head, quartered him and sent his heart to a chief, it being a delicious morsel, they being generally favoured with such rarities after an engagement.

In the meantime, a fellow that had proved a traitor at Bucharangeoala (Puke-rangiora), wished to come in and

see his wife and children; they seized him, and served in like manner. Oh, what a scene for a man of Christian feeling, to behold dead bodies strewed about the settlements in every direction, and hung up at every native's door; their entrails taken out and thrown aside, and the women preparing ovens to cook them. By great persuasion, we prevailed on the savages not to cook any inside the fence, or to come into our houses during the time they were regaling themselves, on what they termed their sumptuous food, far sweeter than pork; it was useless to contend with them concerning the barbarous practice they had addicted themselves to, and took such delight in. The enemy lost, during the siege, about three hundred men and a great number of chiefs, which they would burn, and along with them eight or ten muskets; at the same time for each chief that was killed, they would put to death, in a most cruel manner, ten slaves as a satisfaction for his death. Those superstitious wretches believe, when they die, they will require arms to protect them, and tobacco to smoke; travelling to a mountain where, they say, all those that are slain in battle go to. On our side, there were eight men killed, three children, and two women, during the seige; they got sixteen bodies in the par, besides a great number that were half roasted, and dug several up out of the grave, half decayed, which they also eat. Another instance of the most brutal depravity of the Wicatto (Waikato) wretches; a woman slave endeavouring to make her escape from her master, Howhogeia, was pursued and unfortunately taken by the monster, who, a short time after ordered her to prepare a large oven, which she very innocently complied with, not expecting her miserable doom; when it was ready, she went to her master and told him she had nothing to put into it—he very carelessly told her to get into it—the poor woman looked rather surprised at the command, scrupled a little, expecting mercy; the infidel was not possessed of any. Come, come, says he, I am in a great hurry, and immediately tied her, hands and feet, and put her in alive. When cooked he made a sumptuous meal along with his friends.



This cruel monster would put his men slaves to a still more cruel death, making a musket ramrod red hot, entering it in the lower part of his belly and run it upwards, and then make a slight incision in a vein to let his blood run gradually, for them to drink. Several other dreadful deaths would he doom his unfortunate captives to. During the siege his conversation concerning us white people, was not the most agreeable in our hearing; chiefly consisted in baking us all in one oven, curing our heads, and taking them to Wicatto. Others would say, they had ropes ready, which they had, to drag us slaves there, and make us carry baskets of dead men on our backs; as for our women they had them allotted for different chiefs. I am very happy to say, they were all mistaken in their opinion. We held the ground, and gave them a good drubbing. I must here conclude, being very scanty of paper, for which reasons, columns of the disgraceful conduct of these cannibals remains unpenned by

DANIEL HENRY SHERIDAN.

Mention is made of the arrival of the *Currency Lass* while the pa was being attacked. This schooner sailed from Sydney on the 26th December, 1831, and returned after her visit to the garrison, on 13th February, 1832, with 17 tons of flax. In Sydney at that time was H.M.S. *Zebra*, intending to proceed to Tahiti. It is more than probable, as the *Zebra* sailed on 1st March for Tahiti *viâ* Cook Strait, and the *Currency Lass* sailed again for New Zealand three days later, that Captain Buckell informed Captain G. L. A. Macmurdo of the position of things in Taranaki, and that that officer decided to call in and investigate it.

From the ninth to the fourteenth the *Zebra* was in the vicinity of Cape Egmont. On the former date she reported boarding a schooner, on the twelfth she "sent a boat on board a Sch. in the Bay," and on the fourteenth she "observed a Brig on the larboard quarter standing in for the land." Unfortunately, beyond their mere mention, no information is given of the names of these vessels—a strange

but very common practice of Navy logs of that date. The vessels here referred to were apparently trading for flax with settlements on the coast, or with the natives at Taranaki, and it shows us that they must have been very numerous. Everything was found to be quiet there.

On 15th March the *Zebra* sailed for Kapiti, where she cast anchor on the morning of the sixteenth. There she found that Te Rauparaha and his fighting men were away south finding use for the munitions of war, gained through their industry in the flax trade, by attacking the Banks Peninsula natives. The seventeenth was spent in watering the vessel, and at noon on Sunday, the eighteenth, the anchor was weighed and the vessel taken through Cook Strait. She arrived at Tahiti on 9th April.

## CHAPTER IV.

### COOK STRAIT, 1833 AND 1834.

1833.

Details of the 1833 season are not very full. The *Lord Liverpool*, which had spoken the *Emma Kemp* in Cook St. at the end of the year, came up to Sydney with a flax and oil cargo, on 20th January. There appears to have been a considerable quantity of oil over from the last season, 98 tuns of which, and a small parcel of seal skins, was brought up to Sydney in the *Waterloo* by Hall on 25th February. While in Cook Strait the *Waterloo* spoke the brig *Helen* loading timber for Sydney, where she afterwards delivered a very fair cargo of pine.

In May news reached Hobart Town of the total loss by fire of the *Dragon*, and of the murder of her captain and crew by the Maoris. The crew had made fast to two whales and had followed them into a small inlet where were a number of natives, who promptly overpowered, killed and ate them, and burnt the vessel to the water's edge. The news of this disaster was obtained by the *Lindsay*, which had picked up, in an open boat at sea, a New Zealand lad who had witnessed the incident. Unfortunately no information is available of the locality of the disaster.

On the second trip of the *Waterloo* to Sydney she sailed from Cloudy Bay on 1st July, and made for the south where she experienced very bad weather, and was hove to for 10 days off Macquarie Harbour (the Bluff) and lost her bulwarks and boats. She then made for Preservation Inlet and loaded up with 39 tuns of oil, which she brought up to Sydney on 2nd August. When she left Cloudy Bay the natives had been at war with one another and had committed serious depredations on the property of a Sydney merchant. The *Harriett*, of Sydney, had procured 40 tuns

of oil, and the *Marianne*, of Hobart, was also there. Guard's gangs at Kekapo had procured 100 tuns but it was feared that they would have to leave on account of the hostile disposition of the natives.

The third trip of the *Waterloo* was a phenomenal one. She sailed from Sydney on 12th August with stores, left Cloudy Bay on her return on 9th September, and reached Sydney with 45 tuns of oil on the twenty-fifth of the same month, having performed the round trip in 44 days. She reported the following shipping at Cloudy Bay—

The *Harriett*, Irving, with 150 tuns on board.

The *Caroline*, Blinkinsopp, 100 tuns.

The *Denmark Hill*, Finlay, 90 tuns, and in a leaking condition.

All of these vessels were about to put to sea.

Guard's gangs had procured 240 tuns of oil, and whales were very numerous.

Captain Hall also reported that the *Caroline* had lost a mate named Baker, and the *Harriett*, a mate named Gully, both killed by whales while fishing. While the *Waterloo* was at Cloudy Bay the schooner *Speculator* was at Port Nicholson, and the natives there had gone on board of her, killed one Maori whom they found there, and took the remainder away as prisoners.

On 7th October, 1833, the *Marianne*, the property of Hewitt, Gore & Co., arrived at Hobart Town with a splendid cargo of no less than 260 tuns of oil (100 barrels being sperm) and about 15 tons of whalebone. She had been absent for only some seven months, but had, in that short time, brought a profit of upwards of £4,500 to her owners. She had sailed from Cloudy Bay on 10th September, and reported whales to be plentiful enough there to provide loading for any number of ships.

The various whalers which had gone out from the Derwent had all returned to port with exceptional cargoes, but the trip of the *Marianne* appears to have attracted public attention more than any of the others, and interest in her reports took the form of a proposal to establish a



new colony at Cloudy Bay. "The accounts of Cloudy Bay," says the "Colonial Times," brought by the *Marian*, have been so extremely gratifying, that half the people of Hobart Town are crazy to leave for the new Colony now establishing. The soil is described as of the very best quality, and the climate, although rather cold, salubrious in the extreme." The Article in question went on to point out that the facilities for procuring labour would do away with the necessity for convicts, and it expressed the opinion that the native question could be dealt with if properly taken in hand.

The promoters, in an outline of their scheme, stated that the intention of the families comprised in the movement was to charter a vessel and proceed to the Southern Island of New Zealand, taking with them suitable articles for trade. The settlement was to be on a river, and the sections were to be disposed of by lot. For some time to come the produce of the land was to be in common. Whaling was to be an occupation, strict observance of the Sabbath a feature, compulsory education an essential, and universal training a necessity, of the young settlement. Te Rauparaha's presence was responsible for the necessity. Generally speaking, the promoters hoped to establish an independent community, governed by laws of its own making, and ruled by magistrates of its own selecting.

The scheme was taken up with enthusiasm by a few, and treated with ridicule by many, but it directed men's minds to the question of utilizing the valuable resources of New Zealand in the interests of Hobart Town, and in that way did good. The whole question was not allowed to die, but vessels were sent to New Zealand, and a satisfactory timber trade ultimately opened up between the Derwent and Hokianga. With this development the idea of a Settlement in the South Island dropped out of sight.

During the year a portion of Mana Island was cultivated and a crop of tobacco grown thereon. Europeans resided on the Island, as is shown by the fact of a letter dated, "Island of Manno, Cook's River, 9th November,

1833," giving particulars of the shipping over a considerable period. Bell's vessel, the *William Stoveld*, had called in on her road to England six weeks before and a Van Diemen's Land celebrity had evidently been there painting the paks a deep vermilion. "You doubtless," says the correspondent, "have heard of Lincoln Bill's pranks at Hobart Town; he sailed from this island on the 24th September, not known for what Port; he had a *constable* on board and several other *gentlemen* from Hobart Town."

Who Lincoln Bill was remained a mystery to the author until he read, in a note in a Sydney paper intimating the death of W. Cuthbert of the brig *Bee*, that he was known as Lincoln Bill. The remaining portion of the mystery was cleared up, by the discovery, among the Pacific Ocean papers in the Record Office in London, of a letter written by Wm. Stewart to Captain Charlton, the British Consul of the Sandwich Islands. The letter was copied because the author identified the signature of the writer as that of the "discoverer" of Stewart Island. It was not until long afterwards that it was found to clear up the mystery of the Mana Island visitor of 1833. It is here given, being written at the Sandwich Islands where the *Bee* arrived on 6th January, 1833.

8th January 1834

Captain Charlton

Sir

As His Britannic Majesty's Consul at this place I call your attention to the following few lines.

In July last I joined the Brig *Bee* in New Zealand at the particular request of Mr. W. Cuthbert, the owner, to proceed as Navigating Master. We left New Zealand on the 21st of July the orders I received were to steer for Van Diemens Land, and arrived at Storm Bay on the 11th of August. On the following morning anchored in Adventure Bay. Mr. Cuthbert left the Brig and proceeded to Town,

during his absence the Port Captain came on board and demanded the ship's Papers. I had not them in my possession. The Brig was taken possession of and obliged to go into Port where was discharged the deck load of timber. On the morning of the 23rd August I received orders from Mr. Cuthbert as to my future proceedings, the following morning he came on board and gave me an order to get myself endorsed on the Register & clear out the Brig for Sydney that he himself was going down the River and might probably find him at Maria Island. I shipped a crew and cleared out accordingly but soon ascertained that Mr. Cuthbert had been arrested in a criminal matter and had actually absconded from Justice and taken the officer who had been in charge away with him. On the 29th August left Hobart Town and in consequence of Strong Northerly winds did not make Maria Island till Sept 2nd early in the morning perceived our Whale Boat, she came along side with certain strange men who Mr. Cuthbert said he had shipped then gave me positive orders to steer for New Zealand. I found on the passage he had brought away the constable and three prisoners. At New Zealand some of the crew left. On the 10th October made the Island of Rurutu. Sent two prisoners on shore. At Tahiti the constable and one prisoner were sent on board the ship *Erie*. There being no person at Tahiti that I could address on the subject I let it stand over till we arrived here.

It has always been Mr. Cuthbert's plan to get rid of all the people who know anything of the business at Van Diemens Land but I hope you will do your duty.

I remain,

Yours faithfully

W. STEWART.

Sworn to the truth of the contents hereof as Woahoo this 25th day of January, 1834 before me W. STEWART Pudent(?) CHARLTON

When at Cook Strait Cuthbert sent the mate, and several of the others who were on board the *Bee*, ashore amongst the natives, entirely unprovided with clothes or provisions, and threatening to blow their brains out if they returned. The mate got away to Sydney in the *Harriett*, and told that the conditions on board the *Bee* were terrible, the motley crew whiling away the hours fiddling, drinking, and fighting. Cuthbert himself had stated that he was going to Tahiti to discharge his cargo and then steer on a speculative trip to the Spanish Main.

It was on this wild trip that Stewart called the attention of the British Resident at the Sandwich Islands to the condition of things. Action was at once taken and the *Bee* was seized, but the Crown prisoners managed to make their escape on board an American vessel, and Cuthbert himself got away in a small schooner to California. On being brought to Sydney the *Bee* was sold for the benefit of Cuthbert's creditors and fell into the hands of Long & Co. for £800.

On 5th September the *Sarah* sailed from Sydney for England and was compelled to put into Cloudy Bay leaking. On board of her were Mr. and Mrs. N. L. Kentish and their two children. The description of what follows is from the pen of Mr. Kentish.

“The pumps were obliged to be worked in the *Sarah* long before she had lost sight of Sydney Heads, and she was so leaky, making from 3 to 5 inches of water in an hour, that it was necessary to pump her out every watch day and night. This the commander and crew generally were aware of before she put to sea, as whilst lying in the harbour she was pumped out every night, and before daylight every morning but of course I was totally ignorant, and without suspicion of anything of the kind, or



## THE OLD WHALING DAYS

I would never have taken a passage in her. The captain, however, well aware of the circumstances, directed his course from the Heads to Cook Straits, New Zealand, for the purpose of causing a survey to be held on her, by which he said he should be bound to abide, and which alone could exonerate him. The following is the report of the Board of Survey forwarded to Sydney for the information and guidance of the owner and underwriters.

Whaling Harbour, Cloudy Bay,  
September 26, 1833.

“We the undersigned Masters of vessels lying in this harbour, having been requested by Captain Jack, commander of the brig *Sarah*, bound from Sydney to England, with a general cargo (which vessel put into this port on the 26th instant, in a leaky state) to hold a survey upon her, we have repaired on board, and having perused her log and questioned her commander his chief and second officers and passengers, and having ourselves with the assistance of two carpenters, examined her upper works, and having ascertained that the above-named vessel makes whilst lying in the harbour, three inches of water per hour, we the undersigned are unanimously of opinion that the brig *Sarah* is not seaworthy for a passage to England, and we have earnestly recommended her commander for the benefit of the underwriters and those concerned, to cause her topsides to be caulked, and to proceed with the least possible delay to Sydney for further inspection.

|                  |                    |                          |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| John Blinkinsopp | Com. of the barque | <i>Caroline</i>          |
| John Irving      | „                  | „ <i>Harriett</i>        |
| John Finlay      | „                  | „ <i>Denmark Hill</i>    |
| John Guard       | „                  | schooner <i>Waterloo</i> |

“The brig was accordingly caulked above water, and two planks were discovered as rotten as tinder,

and the carpenter declared the whole bottom to be in the same state, and they, the two mates, the seamen and Captain, all expressed the greatest alarm at even returning in her so far as Sydney, for fear of some other, and worse leak springing in her bottom; but it was Captain Jack's avowed intention to return, who repeatedly declared he could not do otherwise, even if he considered her safe, as it would be illegal, and the insurance would of course be forfeited; however, when such repairs were nearly completed as could be effected in the Bay, it transpired that Captain Jack would not return to Sydney, by his dismissing the second mate (the only person in the brig who understood navigation besides himself) because he, as well as the seamen in general, refused to go in her to Valparaiso, whither he said he would run the chance of proceeding, as he considered the brig was as likely to reach that port as Sydney, and there, if she should appear tolerably safe and tight, he would obtain a supply of provisions and proceed on to England, or if she should still be in a dangerous state cause a fresh survey to be held, when if she should be condemned, the passengers might get a passage in some other vessel, and all who did not choose to go on with him, might go to hell. This was the reason of myself and family leaving the *Sarah*, and obtaining a refuge at Mr. Campbell's whaling establishment, at Cloudy Bay, intending to return to Sydney in the *Waterloo*, at that time daily expected, but about a week after the sailing of the *Sarah*, the news of the total wreck of the *Waterloo* was brought to us by Mr. Hall the master, who with his men crossed the straits in a boat, after narrowly escaping with their lives from the cannibals, who pillaged and then set fire to the hull of the *Waterloo*. I then entreated Mr. Irving to give us a passage in the *Harriett* to the Bay of Islands, where we might have remained in safety

and comparative comfort, and from thence obtained a passage to Sydney three months ago, but he was inexorable, which I thought was unfeeling, and under these circumstances, inhuman towards my wife and children, as we were existing among a gang of whalers not only destitute of every comfort (and subsequently of common necessities, as we foresaw must be the case, from the exhaustion of provisions) but in the greatest terror of a descent from a powerful tribe of one or two thousand natives from the Southward, under a chief called Tyroa (Taia-roa), who are at war with the tribes about the Straits, and last year destroyed fifty tons of barrels, and some oil with the huts and the property on the same beach, belonging to Mr. Mossman, and at the reported approach of which hostile tribe, the natives in Cloudy Bay were so much alarmed that they (our chief protectors) deserted us and fled away into the bush."

After the phenomenal trip of the *Waterloo* already recorded no time was lost in getting her away to Cloudy Bay again. Her luck had now changed, however; she met very bad weather on the road down, and about the middle of October was driven on to the rocks on the mainland near Kapiti and had to be left to her fate. The captain and mate were seized by the natives and stripped of everything they had saved from the wreck, and were about to be killed, when a chief, who was on friendly terms with Captain Hall, saved their lives, saying, "Kill me, don't touch white people." The natives afterwards burnt the wreck. Guard, who managed the gangs for which the *Waterloo* was sailing, told his son that the scene of the wreck was at Waikanae.

1834.

Mr. Kentish threatened to publish "in blank verse" a description of his voyage to New Zealand, and of his stay at Cloudy Bay, but there is no record of the threat having ever been carried out.

Of the other vessels mentioned in the survey certificate of the *Sarah*, the *Harriett* arrived in Sydney on 22nd January, 1834, having called in at the Bay of Islands, with the captain and crew of the *Waterloo* and 133 tuns of black oil on board, and the *Denmark Hill* reached Sydney on 20th March, with 860 barrels of the same commodity. The *Hind* also called in at Cloudy Bay, and, taking away Mr. Kentish and his family on 12th January, landed them at Sydney on 28th February.

When Captain Elley brought the *Hind* to Sydney he reported "a very dangerous sandbank in Cook's Straits which seems to have hitherto escaped notice and is not marked on any chart of that coast at present extant." He described it: "From Cape Farewell there is a sand spit, bearing about due east, to a distance of 9 leagues, and cannot be seen until within about a mile from it. It is, without exception, the most dangerous place in Cook's Straits; and, if not aware of its position, destruction is inevitable. From Cape Farewell, however, as long as your vessel can carry canvas, and may be depended upon, East and by North will keep you clear." It must appear to the reader strange that the discovery in 1834, of a sand spit which had been seen by Tasman in 1642, and by D'Urville in 1827, and particulars of which had been given by both, should have entitled Elley to "the thanks of the mercantile community." Poor charts indeed of the coastline must have been at the disposal of shipping at that date.

Mr. Kentish had mentioned the fear of an invasion by the southern natives, under which the shore whaling gangs at Cloudy were at that time labouring. This fear proved in due course to be well founded. On 29th March, Captain Shaw, in the schooner *Harlequin*, reached Sydney with a cargo of potatoes and reported that she had sailed from New Zealand on the thirteenth of the month under the following circumstances:—

"It appears that some time ago the natives of Cloudy Bay, then at war with those belonging to



the province of Otargo, had taken a Chief of the latter place, Eacho (?Tamaiharanui) with his daughters, both of whom they killed. In revenge the natives of Otargo had come in great numbers to Cloudy Bay to seek revenge for their injuries. Upon the 6th instant headed by Tiharoah (Taiaroa), Tarbooco (Te Whakataupuka) and another chief, they proceeded in a body about 400, with the intention of commencing war against the Cloudy Bay tribes, who it appears, were in the interior engaged in civil war among themselves. Not finding them, they proceeded in the work of devastation. Every station was completely annihilated—those of Messrs. Campbell and Captain Blinkensoppe in particular—their men taken prisoners, and one or more of the women shot—two of the white men, accompanied by several native women, escaped in a whale boat. On the 7th March the *Harlequin* schooner came to anchor in the Bay. Three boats, filled with natives, bringing the remaining two white men (for whom they expected ransom boarded her, and commenced plundering the vessel of sails, colours, muskets, &c., cutting part of her running rigging, &c., and but for the good policy of Captain Shaw, the vessel doubtless would have been taken, nearly two hundred of the natives being on deck searching for plunder and scarcely a part of the vessel but what underwent their scrutiny. However, Captain Shaw, with much address, persuaded the New Zealanders to go on shore and immediately made sail for Cavity (Kapiti) Island, where a similar fate awaited him, from which he also luckily managed to extricate himself.”

The little schooner, *Speculator*, which had got into trouble with the natives at Port Nicholson in 1833, came up to Sydney on 4th March, after a sealing voyage which had commenced on 13th April, 1833. Her captain, Parker, reported a successful voyage. The Maoris at New Zealand

had seized one of his boats, but, after a little altercation had surrendered it.

On 30th March our first farmer set out from Sydney to establish himself in Southern New Zealand. Mr. John Bell had made the necessary arrangements for settling himself and his belongings at Mana Island, and, with a cargo of 10 head of cattle, 102 sheep, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons of hay, sailed in the *Martha* for Cook Strait. With the exception of the domestic animals which accompanied the expeditions of Cook and Vancouver, this is the first record of any such having been taken to New Zealand, though it is incredible that sheep, cattle, goats and rabbits were unknown at the shore whaling stations of Preservation, Otago, Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound and Kapiti.

On 7th June the brig *Eleanor*, Mann, brought up 130 tons of flax and 1 cask of oil, consigned to R. Jones & Co. She had come up from Macquarie Island and had spoken the brig *Martha* in Cook Strait.

Captain Blinkinsopp, in the barque *Caroline*, left Cloudy Bay on 3rd June and reached Sydney on 5th July, 1834, from Campbell's establishment, with a cargo of 100 tuns of black and 60 tuns sperm oil. When the vessel left, the natives were quite peaceful and in the Bay were the Hobart Town whaler, *Marianne*, and the American whaler *Erie* of Newport. The sperm oil on the *Caroline* had been obtained at Curtis Island. The *Erie*, here mentioned, was the pioneer ship of that immense fleet of American whalers, which, during the next few years, filled every bay in the South Island with whaleboats.

Encounters between the whalers and the natives, which so disturbed the peaceful carrying on of the whaling trade during the year 1834, were not confined to Cloudy Bay, nor yet to Port Otago, to be described hereafter. Admiralty Bay was the scene of rather a remarkable attack on a whaling craft. The *Mary and Elizabeth*, under the command of W. Lovitt, sailed from Hobart Town on 12th April, 1834. During the voyage she called in at Otago, and when there her boat, gear, and dead whales were seized

and Captain Lovitt only escaped by a precipitate retreat. She then made for Cloudy Bay, where she was deserted by her crew and had to return to the Derwent, which she reached on 9th July. James Young was then put in command and she put to sea again on the thirteenth of the same month. She returned on 12th September and reported as follows:—

“On the 10th August, in Admiralty Bay, lat. 41. 19. South. lon. 175 East, the *Mary and Elizabeth*, having been drove in by stress of weather, several of the natives, amongst whom Captain Young recognised our old acquaintance, Tomawk, came alongside; Tomawk claimed acquaintance with Captain Young, and was received into the ship with his followers, one of whom he introduced as his brother, Waktoob, and others as his cousins (we suppose Highland cousins). Tomawk and his brother were invited into the cabin, and breakfasted with Captain Young—they appeared very friendly. Tomawk, on coming on board, said—‘This brig belongs to Mr. Kelly.’ Captain Young said, ‘No, it belongs to Mr. Hewitt,’ and endeavoured to explain the nature of the charter. About an hour after breakfast, the weather clearing, Captain Young ordered his men to weigh the anchor, and requested Tomawk and his brother to sit on the companion, and to order their men into the canoes; they appeared to consent, and rose, as Captain Young thought, to comply with his request. Captain Young turned round to the head of the ship to give his orders to his own people, when the two chiefs, Tomawk and Waktoob, seized hold of him, and attempted to push him overboard; he resisted, and prevented their effecting their purpose, by entwining his arms in the main rigging; another New Zealander then struck him with a scrubbing brush on the hip, and brought him down on the deck; they then dragged him along the deck to the

larboard pump, where they made him fast. Three of Captain Young's crew took to the rigging, the natives had knocked down the other three, and lashed them to the ring bolts—they then commenced plundering the ship, and took everything they could move, including charts, chronometers, ship's register, and other papers. At last they quarrelled about a keg of tobacco, and fought with the ship's muskets, which happened to be loaded—two of them were killed, and Captain Young thinks that several more must have been wounded. When the natives began to fight amongst themselves, they left the ship, and took to their canoes, on which the men, who had fled to the fore-top, came down, and released their commander and comrades. When the natives saw this, they gave up quarrelling, and made for the shore. One of the canoes was alongside, and Captain Young observed the chronometer in the bows of the canoe, and, stretching from his own deck, succeeded in rescuing it, though one of the natives made blows at him to prevent it. He then got up the anchor, and stood to sea, making for Cloudy Bay, where the *Marian* was whaling—he got within six miles of the station, and could distinctly see the smoke of the try works, but the weather was such that he could not get into the Bay. After striving to accomplish this, from the 11th to the 27th of August, without any bedding, and hardly any clothing left them, Captain Young was compelled to run for Hobart Town, his crew being unable to stand the rigours of the season in their destitute condition."

To that the editor adds the following, in the best Van Diemen's Land editorial style of that period:—

"We publish the above as a caution to mariners who may have occasion to visit New Zealand. But we confess that we are much surprised and disap-



pointed at hearing of our friend Tomawk being engaged in an outrage of this nature. It is true that the neglect and contempt with which Tomawk and his friend Tooet were treated by our bum bureaucrat oligarchy was calculated to inspire him with any feelings, rather than feelings of respect or kindness for British subjects. We predicted what would be the consequence to our shipping interests trading to New Zealand, of the contemptuous conduct of the Governor to Tomawk, who is not only a powerful Chief in his own country, but a near relation, we believe an uncle, to "Hecho," the paramount Chief or King in Cook's Straits.

"We have often, too often, had occasion to predict the consequences of the negligence and positively bad acts of our Government—acts of which we could not help foreseeing the evil consequences; and we could quote a long record of cases wherein, either personally, or through the press, we have given the head of the Government, in the most respectful manner, timeous warning of consequences against which he might have guarded, and which he might, in fact, have altogether obviated, but which fell out exactly as we had predicted. It will cost much bloodshed, and take many years, to remove the effects of the Governor's neglect of Tomawk, and to accomplish that which an opposite line of conduct, on the part of His Excellency, might with ease have effected. What was the economy philosopher about, that he did not point out to his patron, the example of great men in every age, who had such an opportunity of conciliating powerful savages—he surely could inform his patron of what history relates of Cyrus, Cæsar, Scipio, and a hundred illustrious names, not to mention Buonaparte. And he could have assured him that the respectability of those names would prevent the imitation of their example, from proving any con-

tamination to bum burocrat purity, or degradation of deputed Autoeracy. His Excellency might have learned from 'his Philosopher' that he might have worn his cock's feathers, and his glittering coat, and headed his *soi-disant* Aristocracy, and bum burocrat ESQUIRE!!! Clerks, with undiminished grace and dignity; at the same time, that he would have done a duty to his Sovereign, which that Sovereign had shewn, in more than one instance, that he would not have thought beneath him to perform, by contributing to the safety of his Majesty's subjects, trading to New Zealand, had he condescended to have treated 'Tomawk and Tooet,' as General Macquarie and his high-spirited lady always treated every New Zealand Chief, who ever visited Sydney, and as George the Fourth, without any fear of degradation, treated the Chiefs who visited London.

"Tomawk's mind was not formed of bum burocrat materials. He could feel as one of "Nature's" Princes, and we know from himself, that though he was impressed with the kindest feelings towards many individuals here, nothing could exceed the contempt and dislike which he felt personally for the Government. Often have we heard him draw comparisons, the most unfavourable to the latter, between the Sydney Government and ours. We have received a very large packet from Captain Parker, who went passenger in the *Emma Kemp*, giving a most interesting detail of Tomawk's conduct on the passage, and of his reception in his own country, which confirms the opinions which we have already held concerning him. We have mislaid Captain Parker's packet, but when we find it we will publish it for the entertainment of our readers. With regard to the particular case of the *Mary and Elizabeth*, it was known to us, that Tomawk, had a personal grudge to Mr. Kelly, on account of a

former occurrence in some port of New Zealand, and between one of Mr. Kelly's vessels and the natives. And also on account of Mr. Kelly having, as Tomawk told us, declined taking him passenger to Cloudy Bay—stating as his reason, that he expected Tomawk and his friends would plunder any vessel that would take Tomawk back, in revenge for the disappointment which that Chief suffered by his detention here. However, Mr. Kelly was mistaken, for nothing could exceed the kindness with which they treated all the persons on board the *Emma Kemp*, and the good will which Tomawk expressed for Mr. Horne."

Tomack and Tooet were two of the three chiefs landed in Hobart Town by Captain Steine in the *William the Fourth*, on 1st September, 1832. After remaining there for some time they had approached Captain Kelly to carry them home, but that shipowner feared the wiping out of old scores, and declined. Why Steine did not take them back when he sailed for Rio in the *Emma Kemp* on 13th December, 1832, is not known. It was certainly stated in Hobart on his sailing that the *Emma Kemp* would visit New Zealand, and she was afterwards recorded as calling in at Cook Strait for water. When the *Emma Kemp* returned from Rio on 12th August, 1833, the Maori chiefs were still at Hobart. And there they remained, unable to get passage home, until Mr. Horne, whose vessel had brought them away from New Zealand, purchased the *Emma Kemp* and sent her to New Zealand on 22nd April, 1834, under the command of Captain Doyle. Captain Parker also sailed as a passenger to bring back to Tasmania a vessel laden with New Zealand produce. Parker's trade was, in the main, leather belts with buckles for the natives to use in fastening their mats. Costing one shilling apiece he expected to purchase pigs, giving one belt for a 100lb. pig. On his return to Hobart Town, Captain Parker handed in an account of the reception of the long absent chiefs by their

tribes, but, as explained, this interesting document was lost.

Amongst the papers available in Tasmania are the Articles under which the crew of the *Mary and Elizabeth* served during these exciting voyages. They form the only contract of that nature which the author has found in Australia. Captain Young having lost his register, the correspondence regarding the granting of a new one is of sufficient interest to accompany a copy of the Articles, and will be found with them in Appendix D.

A writer, R. W. S., under date August, 1834, sent to "The Sydney Herald" an interesting account of a trip round the North Island of New Zealand. The portion relating to Cook Strait is here reproduced.

"Owing to contrary winds on my arrival in Cook's Straits, I was necessitated to beat about for several days previous to reaching my first destination, the Island of Manna (Mana), the Warspite Island of Captain Dundas, R.N., during which I discovered a shoal, not previously noticed, lying about ten miles south-west of Manna (Mana), upon which, as far as I could judge from the great way on the vessel, there is about five fathoms of water. You approach the roadstead of Manna (Mana) either from the northward or southward, the only danger being a reef, visible at half tide, which runs out about a mile off the southermost head-land of a Bay or Harbour on the opposite shore, called Purirua (Porirua), which is immediately facing you on entering from the northwest, and which vessels may always avoid by keeping the island aboard. The best anchorage is abreast of the Boat-house at the north end of the native Pa or Fort, at about a quarter and a half mile off shore; small vessels may, however, anchor with safety, a cable's length off the island, abreast of the settlement: This island is the property of Mr. Bell, who is just gone down with



a quantity of cattle, for the purpose of forming an establishment to supply vessels with Stock, &c. A part of the Island is already in cultivation, and a very fair crop of tobacco was grown there last season. Vessels homeward bound through Cooke's Straits will find Manna (Mana) a very convenient place to refresh at. The anchorage is safe at all times; wood and water are both good and plentiful, and fresh beef, mutton, lamb, and pork, with rabbits, poultry, and vegetables may be procured at Mr. Bell's establishment on reasonable terms. Whilst at Manna (Mana) I had an opportunity of witnessing an assemblage of the principal Chiefs of most of the tribes on this part of the coast, who met there for the first time since the war, which had been carried on for five months previous to my arrival. Te Rowparra (Te Rauparaha), one of the oldest Chiefs, who had been the principal occasion of hostilities, was at first dubious as to the reception he would meet with from his compeers, so much so, that instead of going on shore, on arriving in his canoe from Cabitie (Kapiti) he stowed himself away in the vessel's cabin, and it was not till the succeeding evening at dusk, that he would leave her. On the morning of our departure the meeting of the Chiefs took place, when several speeches were made. Peace was proclaimed, and, as usual, a feast concluded the ceremony! I could not but observe the sarcastic and significant looks of some of the principal Chiefs, from which I would infer, that their present acquiescence was but feigned, and that hostilities would break out again, at no very distant period. Be that however as it may, Te Rowparra (Te Rauparaha), from all accounts, have proved himself in the late war an able General, and experienced Tactician, and by a cunning peculiar to himself, has not only overcome a vastly superior force, but actually embroiled a more inveterate foe

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in the contest, whom, he first made fight his battle, and afterwards propose a cessation of hostilities in the very camp of the adversary.”

When the *Joseph Weller* was at Cloudy Bay on 14th July, the *Marianne* and the *Erie* were still there and they had been joined by the *Denmark Hill* and the *Sussex*, the latter an English vessel which had been out for three years and was not yet full. This is the first mention in Sydney papers of an English whaler taking up the South Island black whale trade. A schooner and a brig, supposed to be the *Shamrock* and the *Carnarvon*, were coming in when the *Joseph Weller* left.

On 28th July, a vessel of 435 tons, called the *Bardaster*, sailed from Sydney for New Zealand, to bring up a cargo of flax before sailing for England. She made for Cook Strait and found in Cloudy Bay no less than seven vessels:—

The *Caroline*, Blinkinsopp, with 130 tuns of oil.

The *Denmark Hill*, Finlay, with 150 tuns of oil.

The *Cornwallis*, Bardo, with 2 whales.

The *Sussex*, British barque, full of sperm and black oil.

The *Erie*, American whaler, half full.

The *Marianne*, Sinclair, full, for Hobart Town.

The *Shamrock*, schooner, with potatoes, oil and bone.

After leaving Cloudy Bay the *Bardaster* made the circuit of the flax stations in the North Island, and at one of them picked up a pakeha Maori named Barnet Burns. Captain Chalmers brought his vessel through Cook Strait, calling at Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound, and when at the last-named anchorage, so is alleged by Burns, an attempt was made to seize the vessel, and was frustrated through his knowledge of the Maori language. It was found that the *Shamrock* had capsized and sunk, drowning 3 Europeans and 7 Maoris. Williams, the captain, was saved. The *Caroline* had secured from the Maoris the papers they had seized from the *Mary and Elizabeth*. All

that information was brought to Sydney by Captain Chalmers when he came up on 2nd November.

Burns became so enamoured of life on board the *Bardaster* that he changed his plans of staying at Sydney and went on to Liverpool with Captain Chalmers. In 1835 he published a short sketch of his New Zealand experiences, which, though it went through new editions in 1842, 1844, 1848, and 1850, is now very difficult to secure.

One of the items of information brought up from Cloudy Bay was that the *Denmark Hill* was so leaky that the *Caroline* would accompany her to Sydney. This reminds the author of one of John Guard's stories, told now by his son, of *Harriett* rescue fame. A Maori, desiring something better to live in than the primitive whare of his race, built a house after the manner of his white friends. All went well till the rain came, when it was found that a perfect mill stream poured through the would-be mansion. As his friends gathered round to commiserate with him and discuss what next should be done, the philosophical old Maori who owned the house said, "We will call it the Denmark Hill, it leaks so much," and the Denmark Hill that house was known as ever after. He had been a sailor on board the old leaky whaler.

Of the vessels which the *Bardaster* found in Cloudy Bay in August, the *Marianne* was the first to leave, and reached Hobart Town on 23rd September, with a cargo of 60 tuns of sperm oil, 160 of black, and 9 tons of bone. The *Shamrock* was capsized, as has already been described. The date of the departure of the *Sussex* for England is not recorded. The *Erie* sailed for the Bay of Islands on 5th October, full; and the *Caroline*, *Denmark Hill*, and *Cornwallis* were left at Cloudy Bay. On 9th November the *Caroline* and her leaky consort, the *Denmark Hill*, sailed for Sydney. The latter brought up the captain and five men of the *Shamrock*, and three men of the *Harriett*, and landed with a cargo of 190 tuns of oil on 23rd November.

The *Caroline* reached Sydney two days later with 200 tuns of oil and 11 tons of bone on board. On board the *Caroline* was a runaway named George Wilson, who, with several others, had stowed away when the vessel left Sydney, but when at New Zealand the others had managed to get away among the natives.



## CHAPTER V.

FOVEAUX STRAIT AND THE ISLANDS, 1830 TO 1835.

1830.

The first recorded visitor to this southern region, during the period under review, was an American sealing captain.

Captain Benjamin Morrell of the American schooner *Antarctic* sailed from New York on 2nd September, 1829, and anchored at Carnley Harbour, Auckland Island, on 28th December of the same year. Three days afterwards he sent two of his officers to look for seals, and on 4th January, 1830, they returned, having pulled round the Island without seeing a single fur seal and not more than twenty of the hair kind. Quoting his own words:—

“Although the Auckland Isles once abounded with numerous herds of fur and hair-seal, the American and English seamen engaged in this business have made such clean work of it as scarcely to leave a breed; at all events there was not one fur-seal to be found on the 4th of January, 1830. We therefore got under way on the morning of Tuesday, the 5th at 6 o'clock, and steered for another cluster of islands, or rather rocks, called '*the Snares*,' one hundred and eighty miles north of Auckland Group and about sixty south of New Zealand. . . .  
“We searched then in vain for fur-seal, with which they formerly abounded. The population was extinct, cut off, root and branch, by the sealers of Van Dieman's Land, Sidney, etc.”

From the Snares Morrell visited Pegasus, called by him South Port, and there he found a Sydney gang engaged in building a vessel—probably the gang stationed there by Stewart, and now engaged on the *Joseph Weller*.

Sailing over to Molyneux Bay he found, situated at the head of the harbour, a village known as Tavaimoo, of twenty-eight miserable huts. The best of the dwelling places he describes as being like barns, about ten feet high, thirty long, and twelve or fifteen broad. The insides were strongly constructed and fastened with supple vines. The same materials which they used for daubing their faces they also used for painting their whares red and black. The huts were entered through a hole just large enough to admit a man stooping, and smoke escaped and light entered by a still smaller aperture. An inferior class of dwelling found in the village was about half the size of the above and seldom more than four or five feet in height, framed of young trees and thatched with long grass. A few bags or baskets containing fishing gear and other trifles constituted the only furniture.

These natives of the Molyneux were evidently of a very low standard of civilization, and, although they must have been in touch with Europeans for some time before the visit of Captain Morrell, the contact had evidently not elevated them. The American makes no mention of finding white men in the native camp. The date of this visit was 7th January, 1830.

On the tenth, Morrell reached Banks Peninsula and anchored in Cook's Harbour (Port Cooper). Only a few natives were in the bay, and they eked out a precarious existence on shell fish. From that anchorage the *Antarctic* skirted the coast as far as Cape Campbell, all along the route the natives inviting those on board to land. They did not come to an anchor, however, until they had sailed past Cook Strait, when some fifty natives met them and took them ashore at Flat Point, beyond Cape Palliser. From there a course was steered for the Bay of Islands.

Both Captain Morrell and his wife, who accompanied him, have published very interesting accounts of the voyage.

The Preservation Bay whaling station has long been held to be, or to share with Te Awaiti the honour of being,

the first shore whaling establishment in New Zealand. Both Williams and Shortland, of whom the former managed, and the latter recorded the doings of the station, make the date of its foundation, 1829, and Shortland further says that during that year three boats were employed and 120 tuns of oil were taken at it.

On the other hand, so far as New South Wales records can be ascertained, there are no indications that any oil was received at Sydney from Preservation Inlet during 1829. Williams brought from New Zealand, in the *Caroline*, flax, seal skins and timber, but no mention is made of oil. Her first cargo of that commodity reached Sydney on 11th August, after the whaling season of 1830 had commenced. Unless therefore the oil of the previous year was sold at the station to seagoing vessels, Shortland must be incorrect. Before taking over the management of the whaling station, which was owned by Bunn & Co., Williams commanded the *Caroline*, which traded backwards and forwards to New Zealand. After he took over the management, the command of the *Caroline* devolved on Farley, and then on Anglin, after whom Mt. Anglem is called. Judged from the nature of the cargoes brought up in the *Caroline*, the establishment of the station, for sealing and for timber cutting only, can be claimed as early as 1829. The evidence points to 1830 as the date of the foundation of Bunn's whaling establishment at Preservation Inlet.

On 7th February, the *Samuel* returned from Chatham Island with timber, pork, potatoes, flax and skins. She had sailed there from Sydney on 29th November, 1829, to obtain some skins which had been collected by a party of sealers in the employ of Mr. Street. On arrival at the Island the sealing gang informed Captain Worth that their whole kit had been carried off by the *Cyprus*, which had called there with about 50 men on board. The vessel was in a very crippled condition, was dismantled of part of her rigging, and had all her sails split or torn to ribbons.

The *Cyprus* was an old Macquarie Island trader which had been seized by the convicts at Van Diemen's Land and was now scouring the sea.

The *Caroline* made the first two trips of the year in February and in May with cargoes of flax and seal skins, bringing up in all 4 tons of flax and 1200 skins. Then came the first oil recorded from Preservation. The first cargo of 40 tuns arrived on 11th August, and the second, of the like quantity, on 21st October. There also came 4 tons of bone, and 125 skins. The season was a very satisfactory one and the July reports stated that at Dusky Bay the whales were tumbling over one another like porpoises, and the only danger was that there might not be a sufficient supply of casks.

In his evidence before the Lands Claims Commissioners, Williams stated that in 1830 he built a dwelling house for himself and his family, and a store, capable of holding 300 tons of goods for trade and to supply shipping. Six houses were erected for whaling companies and a boatshed for 16 boats. From 50 to 60 men were employed whaling during the season and, when that was over, sealing and sawing timber. The contents of the store may be judged from the ship's manifest on her voyage from Sydney to the station on 25th August:—2 pun. rum, 3 casks, 1 case slops, 10cwt. biscuit, 3 tons flour, 56lbs. musket balls, 3 packages ironmongery, 1 cask vinegar, 3 doz. quart pots, 1 box medicines, 1 box raisins, 2 coils rope, 12 coils coir rope, 12 iron pots, 1 doz. whale lances, 2 jars turpentine, 2 grindstones, 1 bag rice, 1 box pepper, 40 tons casks and stores. No exception can be taken to the nature or variety of the material supplied.

During the year two other vessels, the *Fairy* and the *Emma Kemp*, took part in the sealing trade. The former arrived in Sydney on 27th February with 600 skins and some flax, while the latter, under the command of J. H. Skelton, arrived on 12th November with 113 skins. 8 tons flax and 4 tons pork.



1831.

Before the whaling season opened, on 29th March, 1831, the schooner *Samuel*, under the command of Captain Anglin reached Sydney with a cargo of 440 seal skins and 10 tons of flax, and brought the distressing news that the brig *Industry*, under the command of Captain W. Wiseman, had been wrecked at Easy Bay, Stewart Island, in a dreadful gale of wind on 28th February. The captain, ten seamen, and six native women, were drowned. Two men only escaped and were expected to come up to Sydney in the *Caroline*. Wiseman is described as a remarkably active and fine looking man whose father resided at the Hawkesbury. He was married to a daughter of John Grono, formerly in the New Zealand trade, but at this date a ship builder at the Hawkesbury and one of the owners of the *Industry*. He left a widow and one child. Wiseman had been in New South Wales and connected with its shipping for a long time, and in the course of his trading voyages had visited New Zealand, South Shetland, South America and various places in the South Seas. Tradition among southern natives says that the *Industry* called at Codfish Island, where she was lying when the gale came up, and that, under the direction of Chaseland, one of the few who escaped a watery grave, she ran for Easy Harbour.

The year 1831 records nothing special about Bunn's establishment beyond the regular visits of the *Caroline*, taking up to Sydney 114 tuns oil, 2 cwt. whalebone, 674 skins and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of flax, as follows:—

| Arrival |    | Captain  |     |     | Flax              | Oil     | Skins |
|---------|----|----------|-----|-----|-------------------|---------|-------|
| Apr.    | 6  | Farley   | ... | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ ton | 20 Tuns | 530   |
| July    | 8  | Anglin   | ... | ... |                   | 29 „    | 74    |
| Nov.    | 8  | Anglin   | ... | ... |                   | 25 „    | 50    |
| Dec.    | 26 | Williams | ... | ... |                   | 40 „    | 20    |

On her last trip she proceeded from Sydney to Newcastle and transhipped her oil into the barque *Integrity*, which was lying there.

This year Messrs. Enderby, of London, the well-known whaling firm, sent out to explore the high southern latitudes an expedition of two vessels—the brig *Tula*, of 148 tons, under the command of John Biscoe, R.N., and the cutter *Lively*, of 49 tons, under the command of George Avery.

The expedition sailed from Gravesend on 14th July, 1831, and arrived in due course at Van Diemen's Land, from whence it sailed, on 9th October, 1831, round the North Cape of New Zealand to the Bay of Islands, which was reached in 21 days. On 5th November it proceeded to the south and made for Chatham Island. On the seventeenth, the 44° Rocks were sighted and land was visible at different times, but it was not until the nineteenth that boats were sent ashore. These returned with three natives who expressed their willingness to remain on board. Biscoe describes them as quite naked but wearing over their shoulders a stiff mat, which, when they squatted down on the deck, stuck out like the shell of a turtle and formed a roof for turning the water off. As there was no work for them they were returned to the shore. Thick dirty weather prevailed until the twenty-third when the 44 degree rocks were again sighted and a boat sent for seals, but the rocks proved so perpendicular that it was difficult to land upon them, and only seven skins were secured. Thinking that these were stragglers from some rookery near at hand, Biscoe tried the rocks to the south, but owing to bad weather could not effect a landing, and accordingly bore up for Chatham Island. After spending some time in a further unsuccessful hunt after seals, on 2nd December, anchor was cast in a bight of the largest of the Cornwallis Islands, and the boats were sent out to the different islets for skins. Pigs were found on the island, but seals, which were so much desired, were nowhere to be seen. In one of his excursions Biscoe found the wreck of a small vessel of about 100 tons, which he concluded to be the *Glory*, lost there in January, 1827. On the twelfth, sixteen skins were procured on the Sisters rocks.

From there the expedition made for the Bounty Islands, which were sighted on the twenty-fourth. The boats were sent ashore but returned without anything, having seen only five seals which could not be approached. Landing on one of the rocks they found a hut, the roof of which was formed of skins and wings of birds, a baking dish, a water cask, a bottle half filled with oil, some pieces of firewood and an Irish provision cask. So far the expedition had failed to find likely sealing ground. From the Bounties Biscoe made southward. With his Antarctic explorations we are not concerned, but, considering his poor equipment, Biscoe earned for himself a high position amongst Antarctic explorers.

His journal, for which we are indebted to the courtesy of the R.G.S., will be found as Appendix B.

In the early days of 1831 the *Venus* tried the old Campbell and Macquarie Island grounds for seal skins and elephant oil, but with no success whatever. She first made Macquarie Island and the captain landed at both ends of the Island, but could see no signs of elephants. "Macquarie Island is entirely cut up," was his report. After leaving that place Harvey went south as far as 72°, but, finding such a succession of fogs that it was impossible to see further than a mile from the ship, he gave up his search for fresh fields and returned. The *Venus* next put into Campbell Island to set up casks for whaling. Here 170 prime skins were procured. About 20 tons of salt was landed at the head of Preservation Harbour, and from what Captain Harvey saw there he came to the conclusion that "it would pay a boat's crew to remain." From Campbell Island the *Venus* sailed for Cloudy Bay, where she was reported at anchor on 28th May. When she reached Sydney on 31st December, 1832, she had a cargo of 140 tuns black oil, 6 tons whalebone, 25 tuns sperm oil, and 170 skins.

A letter of Captain Harvey to Captain Kelly, the owner of the *Venus*, written during the vessel's stay in Sydney, is now in a private collection of manuscripts in Tasmania.

1832.

From Bunn's establishment in 1832 the *Caroline* came up to Sydney on 1st April, 17th June, and 29th August, bringing up with her 80 tuns oil, 12 cwt. bone, 685 skins, 26 tons flax and 12,100 feet of timber. At the end of the season Bunn put on the *Bee*, and brought up in her from the same station, another 90 tuns oil, 5½ tons whalebone, 3000 feet of timber, 700 baskets of flax and 15 skins. Her passenger list comprised Mr. James Joss, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Wareham, Mr. E. Barker and a Maori woman.

About the end of the year Williams purchased from the local chief, Te Whakataupuka, the land from the northward of Dusky to the south head of Preservation Inlet for a payment of 60 muskets. Williams says it was effected in 1829 but no deed was drawn up until 1832, on which date Te Whakataupuka attached his moko or copy of his tattoo marks, to a deed of which the following copy is to be found amongst the papers connected with Williams' application before the Lands Claims Commissioners. This is probably the first conveyance of land in the South Island.

“To all whom it may concern be it known that I Taboca Rangatera or Chief of the Southern Territories of New Zealand, have this (9th) ninth day of November In the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and thirty two sold unto Peter Williams of New South Wales his Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns for ever all my right Title and Interest in and to all that portion of my territory situated being and lying on the West side of the Middle Island New Zealand beginning from the North Head of Dusky Bay in Latitude 45° South and 166° 15 East and ending at the South Head of Preservation in Latitude 46° 30' South and 166° 43' E. also all those Islands within those boundaries and all the other Islands not herein mentioned including also all Rivers Streams Inlets Fisheries Tenements Buildings Cultivations &c. &c. to him the said Peter Williams his Heirs Executors



Administrators or Assigns from henceforth and for ever in Consideration of which I Taboca Rangatera Acknowledge to have received Sixty Muskets. In Witness whereof I have this day set my hand and Seal in my Tatto likeness Opposite.”

(The Chief's Tatto.)

Middle Island or Tavai Poenammoo.

his

Witness James X Spencer.

mark

Peter Williams.

The Rev. R. Taylor, writing in 1855, described Te Whakataupuka as a great chief of the Middle Island, known to the sailors as Old Wig and celebrated as much for his cunning as for his courage. He died, Taylor says, of measles, in 1833.

1833.

In 1833 the *Caroline*, after bringing up the very creditable cargo of 1000 seal skins, with some timber and bone, on 27th March, sailed south on 18th April with fishery stores. During the succeeding months Anglin was occupied in visiting the southern islands sealing, and did not return to Sydney until the latter part of the year. The *Caroline's* place was taken by the *Sydney Packet*, a vessel of 84 tons, under the command of Captain Joss. This vessel was purchased by George Bunn in March and sent away with a cargo of whaling stores. She reached Sydney on 23rd June, 2nd September, and 11th November, with 409 casks of oil, 332 skins, and 259 bundles of bone. In addition to these cargoes, Captain Hall, in the *Waterloo*, brought up 39 tuns of oil from Preservation, on 2nd August.

In her November trip the *Sydney Packet* left Bunn's establishment at Preservation Inlet, on 25th October, with 259 bundles whalebone, 127 casks oil and 200 skins. Captain Joss brought up an oar branded "Mosman," supposed to belong to a vessel wrecked at Auckland Island between February and August. He stated that there could also

be seen strewn on the beach, wreckage of the vessel. wool and oil staves in abundance, cabin furniture made of cedar, flooring timbers, pitch pine spars, cedar plank and part of a wool press.

The wreck was discovered by a party of sealers belonging to the *Caroline* who were stationed on the island and who brought up the marked oar, part of an iron bar on which was W.C. in a circle and a five gallon keg on each end of which was branded "Knowles & Co." Anglin of the *Caroline*, after bringing up these articles from the islands, gave them to Joss of the *Sydney Packet* who deposited them in Bunn's stores in Sydney. It was Anglin's intention to visit the scene of the wreck upon his next trip and see it for himself. The Sydney press suggested that a vessel should be fitted out to run down and ascertain whether further information could be got of the wreck which was believed to belong to a vessel of 400 tons.

#### 1834.

On 9th January, 1834, George Bunn, one of the first merchants of Sydney and the senior partner of the firm which owned the Preservation Bay whaling station, died.

On 14th March the two Preservation Bay vessels came up to Sydney. The *Sydney Packet* sailed from New Zealand on the second, with 185 skins, 68 casks oil and 14 tons flax. The *Caroline* came up with a cargo of 350 skins, having on board Edwin Palmer, who had been sealing at Auckland Island, and who had examined the wreck. He reported that no information could be got of the vessel's name. Many tons of the wreck had been beached, and consisted of wool, oil, and shipping stores. Palmer thought she must have been wrecked eleven months before, as he had visited that part of Auckland Island a short time previous to discovering her and had not seen anything of the kind. Palmer evidently had charge of the gang which discovered the wreck. In spite of the hopeless report it was still thought than an expedition might bring some-

thing to light, but nothing special appears to have been done.

At this stage a sad accident took place in connection with the Preservation Bay whaling station. A boat's crew went to Ruapuke Island for a few days' recreation, and, as they did not return for some time, another boat was sent in search of them. On arrival at Ruapuke they were told that the boat had sailed for home. Nothing had been heard of them when the *Sydney Packet* sailed. Their loss was a severe one to the whaling establishment as three clever headsmen and two boat steerers were among the number. Their names were Fife, Williams, Russell, Lee, Garvin and Bonnivar.

The *Sydney Packet* sailed on 7th April, 1834, taking down a quantity of whaling gear for the supply of the gangs belonging to the house of Bunn & Co. Her general cargo consisted of 12 casks flour, 24 casks beef, 11 casks pork, 22 bags sugar, 2 casks ironmongery, 2 casks slops, 2 boxes soap, 1 cask beer, 2 chests tea, 2 puncheons, 1 hogshead rum, 2 kegs tobacco, and stores. The *Caroline* returned in ballast on 20th May, but Anglin had taken over the *Lucy Ann* belonging to Weller, and his place was now taken by Bruce.

The *Caroline* brought back to Sydney on 21st July, 104 casks black oil, and, as passengers, Messrs. H. Harding, A. Mossman, and Thomas Mowat. She had sailed from New Zealand on the sixth. On her voyage up she experienced terrible weather, her bulwarks and binnacles were carried away, and one of her boats was stove in. She sailed again on 8th August in ballast. On 21st August the *Sydney Packet* returned from New Zealand, from which she had sailed on the first, with 150 casks black oil and 2 casks seal skins. The consignee of the cargoes of the two vessels was E. B. Mowle, that House having evidently taken over the business of Bunn & Co. Captain Joss reported that there was not a vestige left of the wreck on Auckland Island.

The *Caroline* reached Port Jackson on 16th September, 1834, with 97 casks of oil. A local paper says: "When

the signal from New Zealand was yesterday displayed, we were anxious to know whether any and what information was brought from that quarter and on applying to Messrs. Mowle & Co. we learn that the *Caroline* is from Port Bunn where everything was tranquil. No intelligence of the *Alligator* has, of course, reached Sydney by this vessel." She came up in eleven days, during which time she encountered very rough weather and a sea carried away 7 of her starboard staunchions and bulwarks, and broke in two the ironwork of the pump. Captain Bruce saw no vessel either going or returning. The excitement in Sydney was caused by a report brought up from Otago in the *Lucy Ann* that the natives had become very troublesome and that some of them had gone to Port Bunn to cause trouble there. H.M.S. *Alligator* had left for New Zealand to recapture the remnant of the *Harriett's* crew wrecked at or near Cape Egmont. From the report brought up in the *Caroline* the excitement under which the natives laboured while at Otago had effervesced before they reached the southern station.

The *Sydney Packet*, Joss, sailed with fishery stores on 26th September and returned on 21st November with 40 tuns oil and 8 tons whalebone. In the shipping report it is stated that E. B. Mowle & Co. had a large establishment at Port Bunn. The natives were reported to be in a state of perfect tranquillity. The Customs record gives Williams as the master of the *Sydney Packet*. Probably he came up from the whaling station, as it was the end of the season, to make arrangements for next year's work rendered necessary by the death of Captain Bunn. At what date exactly the property was disposed of is not certain, but it was owned by Jones and Palmer, in March, 1835.

Throughout the year's traffic it will be noted that the timber trade had ceased, oil, whalebone and seal skins being the staple articles of export.

During the year an attempt was made to revive the old sea elephant trade of Macquarie Island, which had now



been untouched for a period of over two years. Captain Mann went down in the *Eleanor*, on 19th March, with a full equipment of the necessary material. After landing his gangs he endeavoured to touch at Auckland Island to ascertain the name of the vessel lying on the beach there, but the weather was so rough that he had to abandon his design and make for Cook Strait. The *Eleanor* reached Sydney on 7th June, having on her voyage spoken a Hobart Town sealer, the *Penelope*, all well but with no seals. Towards the end of the year—on 15th October—the brig *Bee* was sent down under the command of Captain Robertson, to minister to the wants of the gang and to bring back the oil. She found, however, that in the seven months the gang had been on the Island it had not been able to secure one cask of oil. The seals had completely abandoned the Island. Captain Robertson, on 20th December, brought back 5 seamen of the gang; the remainder he was to call for later.

1835.

Captain Robertson did not delay long in Sydney, but sailed on 3rd January for the balance of the *Eleanor's* sealing gang at Macquarie Island. On 26th February he had them all on board—a gang of 12 men—and sailed from the Island without oil or skins, a clean ship but for 300 tuns of empty casks. During his visit he called in at Chatham Island and found there eight or ten runaways. He reached Sydney on 19th May.

The day after the *Bee* left, the *Sydney Packet* sailed for her usual destination and returned on 12th March with Messrs. Palmer and Wareham as passengers. She sailed from New Zealand on 23rd February with a cargo of 496 seal skins, 10 tuns seal oil, and 47 casks black whale oil, consigned to E. B. Mowle.

On 11th March, the *New Zealander* reached Sydney, having sailed from the southern part of New Zealand on 28th February. The schooner was under the command of Captain Cole and had on board oil and potatoes. Mrs.

Cole was a passenger, but the places called at by this vessel are not given. Amongst other descriptions of her trip, however, one paper speaks of it as "a speculative trip of five months among the Eastern Islands." In view of the fact that on 12th January, 1839, four men were found on Campbell Island who stated that they had been left there four years before by the *New Zealander*, it is more than probable that this "speculative trip" took the *New Zealander* as far south as Campbell Island.

Early in April the schooner *Sydney Packet* was purchased, through Polack of Sydney, for £800, by John Jones, for many years a waterman of Sydney Cove. By her new purchaser, who was now the owner of the Preservation Bay whaling station, she was fitted out for bay whaling and sailed on the twenty-first under the command of Captain Bruce. Her first voyage under the new ownership ended on 12th July, when she reached Sydney with two passengers—James Spencer and a New Zealander. She left Preservation Bay on 22nd June with 45 tuns of oil. No other vessel was sighted during the trip. Her cargo was consigned to J. Jones. "Johnny" Jones, whose name was afterwards to become a household word in Otago, thus received his first cargo of oil from New Zealand.

In trying to ascertain the first record of "Johnny" Jones' connection with New Zealand trade the author found mention made of a boy named John Jones advertising his intention of shipping in the *Venus* in 1808.

It was noticeable that renewed activity was imported into the movements of the *Sydney Packet* when she came under the ownership of "Johnny" Jones. She sailed for the whaling establishment on 21st July with a cargo of casks, whaling gear, rum, tobacco, flour and stores, and returned on 16th September with 45 tuns oil, 30 cwt. bone, 1 cask seal skins and 5 tons potatoes. She had sailed from Preservation on 21st August and J. Jones is stated to have been supercargo. He had evidently gone down and superintended operations in person. The people on the schooner found the measles very bad among the Maoris. On her

next run she reached Sydney on 31st October, with 80 casks black oil, 61½ tons whalebone and 4 tons potatoes. James Saunders was the only passenger. She set sail again on 5th December.

It will be remembered that Te Whakataupuka sold a portion of his land to Peter Williams in 1832, and that Taylor gave 1833 as the date of the old chief's death from measles. There is reason to believe that Taylor is wrong in the date given, because as late as September, 1834, Te Whakataupuka took part in the raid on the Otago station, and left to raid the gangs at Port Bunn, when he was carried off by measles which raged among the southern Maoris during 1835. As a result Tuhawaiki became the foremost Maori in the southern portion of the Island. He described himself as the nephew and successor to Te Whakataupuka and stated that he received a portion of the payment made by Mr. Williams. He was present when the original deed was executed.

Peter Williams now applied to the new dominant chief and got his old grant confirmed. This was done by a document of which he submitted the following as a copy.

"To all whom it may concern be it known that I Toawick are now become Rangatera or Chief of these Southern Territories do hereby Testify that the above deed is true and correct and that the above Tatto is the true likeness of the late Chief Taboca—likewise for and on behalf of myself I do Grant the same unto Peter Williams his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns for ever in Witness whereof I have set my Tatto likeness Opposite this 31st Day of December 1835."

Peter Williams.

Witnesses—James Ives.

George Moss Mowry, X his mark.

Tomarama „ X his mark.

Barago „ X his mark.

When statistics were being collected in 1836 relating to shore whaling on the New Zealand coast, Jones was

applied to, among the others, and he replied, regarding the Preservation Bay whaling station, in the following terms:—

Sydney, 24 March, 1836.

Sir,—

According to your request I beg to transmit you the following information relative to my Establishment at New Zealand. I have 39 men employed in the Fishery which I have carried on for the last 12 months and procured 125 tuns oil none of which has been exported by me.

I also beg to state that the late George Bunn was in possession of the said Establishment for about 6 years and procured upwards of 500 tuns of oil during that period.

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your obedient Servant,

John Jones.

To Major Gibbs

Collector of Customs.

The station therefore had yielded 625 tuns of oil, and the letter seems to indicate that it was in operation in 1829.



## CHAPTER VI.

### WELLER'S WHALING STATION, 1831 TO 1835.

Towards the end of 1831 the Weller Brothers of Sydney decided to form a whaling establishment at Otago Harbour, and, with that object in view, purchased from the New South Wales Government a barque of 214 tons called the *Lucy Ann*, and sent her away on 25th September, under the command of Captain Owen, with the necessary stores. Her cargo for the first trading establishment at Otago combined the arts of peace and war to a charming degree: 6 cases muskets, 10 barrels and 104 half barrels gunpowder, 1 case axes, 2 iron boilers, 5 casks beef, 1 case whaling gear, 1 case whaling line, 1 pipe gin, 2 puncheons rum, 5 kegs tobacco and stores. Probably the ammunition was required for the natives, the alcohol for the whalers.

When the *Lucy Ann* returned on 29th February, 1832, she brought a cargo comprised wholly of timber and flax: 100 spars, 10,649ft. planks, 1200 trenails and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton flax, consigned to J. B. Weller.

In the beginning of April and before the whaling season opened, word reached Sydney, by the *Caroline* from Preservation, that a fire had broken out accidentally at Otago and burnt about 80 houses, totally destroying the whaling establishment. Through the fire a considerable quantity of gunpowder also exploded. This was a terrible blow to the Wellers and meant the loss of a whole whaling season. Strange to say, on 19th May, when she was in Sydney Cove ready to sail for New Zealand, an attempt was made to burn the *Lucy Ann*, but, although a reward of £50 was offered by Mr. George Weller, the culprit was never identified. On 28th May she sailed, and George Weller went with her.

No mention is made of the *Lucy Ann* going as far south as Otago, but the fact of the accident at that station being known to Weller before he sailed, if it was not what took

him away, and the natural requirements of a large station like Otago, would indicate that the *Lucy Ann* would hardly be in New Zealand waters without calling there. There is the further evidence to be got from the cargo which she brought up on 3rd October. It consisted of pine timber, handspikes, ships timber, ship knees, and ships breast hooks, and would indicate that she had been at some ship-building station. Weller had a vessel on the stocks, just then, at Port Pegasus, and the cargo is just such an one as could well be got there.

Captain Worth told, on his return, that Mr. Weller, while on an island, had been seized by the natives with the intention of being put to death and eaten, as had been the fate of Mr. Pratt, who had gone down some time before in the *Vittoria*. One of the chiefs, however, was friendly to Mr. Weller, so they drew lots with pieces of wood when the friendly chief won, and Weller's life was spared, and he was brought in safety to another island where he had the good fortune to find his brother. The scene of this exciting incident is not given.

On 14th September, 1832, the *Lucy Ann* again sailed for New Zealand, but under the command of Captain Weller, and with Mr. Greenfield and Messrs. Jno. McNamara, Lawrence, Stephens, and Peter Shirtley as passengers. About the beginning of March, 1833, she was in Paterson's River, Stewart Island, and was spoken by the *Caroline*. She left New Zealand on 15th March, and reached Sydney on 1st April, with a well assorted cargo of timber which included 7000 feet of plank. She had also some seal skins and a small parcel of whalebone. Captain Worth brought her up.

On 5th May Captain Worth sailed for Otago with a whaling gang for the bay whaling, and a substantial cargo of flour, beef, sugar, salt, butter, vinegar, and pickles for their food; slops and cottons for their clothing; tar, pitch, lime, and 2000 bricks for their tryworks; 160 tuns casks for their oil; and brandy and rum for their refreshment. On his return he brought up, on 7th November, 1833, the

first whale oil recorded as coming up from Otago Harbour. It was a cargo of 130 tuns, with 7 tons of whalebone, 1 of flax, 8 of potatoes, and 1 cask of seal skins. Five Maoris came up as passengers, and one of them, who was a chief, referring to fighting which was reported to be going on at Cloudy Bay, stated that the Maoris were only too anxious to live at peace with the white people. Captain Worth gave the first news of the Auckland Island wreck. He also stated that the New Zealand potato crop had been very fine, and that cultivation was going on to a great extent. Whales were so plentiful that twice the cargo could have been procured had the ship possessed only a sufficiency of casks.

At a date which the author has not been able to ascertain, the Wellers arranged for the building of a schooner at Port Pegasus, by the shipbuilding party which Stewart had left there about 1826. Captain Morrell, who called in there during the first week of 1830, says that a gang of men from Sydney were engaged in building a vessel then. This was probably Cook and his party, at the vessel which later on became the *Joseph Weller*. As the Wellers decided in 1831 to establish a station at Otago, this may have been the year arrangements were made between them and Cook's party, and the vessel which Morrell saw upon the stocks may probably have been gone on with for the Otago firm. In November, 1833, the *Lucy Ann* brought up news of the launching of the *Joseph Weller*, the first vessel recorded as having been built at Stewart Island.

Amongst the correspondence of James Kelly, found, after his death, in the pilot station at Hobart Town, was the following letter from J. B. Weller:—

21st May, 1833,  
Otago, New Zealand.

To Mr. James Kelley.

Sir,—

This is to certify that the Natives of Otago have threatened to take your Ship from Capt. Lovat,

stating that you had formerly killed or wounded several years ago some of their people & that they would have revenge. Most of the people also deserted the vessel at the above Port.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient Servt.

J. B. Weller.

Here we have evidence of the presence of Hobart Town whalers in the Port of Otago as early as May, 1833. Hobart files tell us that, on 1st February of that year, the *Amity*, 148 tons, commanded by W. Lovett, sailed for New Zealand in ballast. We have already recorded her arrival at Cloudy Bay on 3rd July, so that she must have gone on up the coast after losing some of her men at Otago. Weller's mention of the killing and wounding of Otago natives some years before has reference to the doings of the *Sophia* in 1817 when she had a scrap with the natives there, Kelly being at that time the captain. The account had not yet been squared.

Shortly after the arrival of the *Lucy Ann*, George Weller intimated to the Controller of Customs at Sydney that his brother had launched a schooner in New Zealand, and he made application for a sailing letter to be granted him to trade between the Islands in the South Seas and New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. In the same letter he desired to be informed whether the produce of New Zealand, when imported into New South Wales, was treated as foreign. In reply he was informed, on 19th November, that vessels built in New Zealand could bring the produce of that country to New South Wales or to Van Diemen's Land, and that up to that time no duty had been levied upon such goods. There was no law, however, which empowered the Authorities at Sydney to grant a License to foreign built vessels.

Under date 20th December, of the same year, authority was sent from London to issue Licences to vessels built in New Zealand, to trade between that country and Australia



as a British ship. Under this authority a Licence was issued to the *Joseph Weller*, described as of 49 tons and built in the year 1831.

The *Joseph Weller* reached Sydney from New Zealand on her first trip on 31st December, under the command of Captain Morris, with a cargo which included 33 bales flax, 7 ironwood timbers, 25 rough hand spikes, 490lbs whalebone, 13 casks oil and 3 fur seal skins. The day before she arrived Worth had sailed with the *Lucy Ann*, taking as passengers, his wife, Miss Mary Jackson, Captain Hayward, John Hughes, George Beers and six New Zealanders.

Harry Cook, who was born at Port Pegasus in 1827, said that his father, with a party of shipbuilders, went to Sydney on board the schooner, and when they landed there one of the first men met on the street was Stewart. The captain of the old *Prince of Denmark* came forward eagerly to shake hands, but Cook indignantly declined, asking why he had been left down at Pegasus with seven men to starve for want of supplies. Stewart's reply was that he had been put into jail in Sydney for debt and could not get back, not having long escaped from durance vile. This reply rather mollified the indignant shipbuilder and peace was restored; shortly afterwards, Cook returned with some of his men to the Bay of Islands, where Harry, then a mere lad, resided until his death, 2nd September, 1911.

On 17th February, 1834, the *Joseph Weller*, Morris, sailed for Otago with stores.

On 26th April, the *Lucy Ann*, Worth, which had sailed from New Zealand on the twelfth, returned with a cargo of 10 logs of timber, 890 rickers, 165 handspikes, 13 casks black whale oil, 6cwt. whalebone, 2 casks seal skins, 3 tons flax, 86 bundles coopers' flags, 2 tons potatoes and 23 barrels of salt fish, consigned to George Weller. She then took in whaling stores and a gang of whalers and sailed for Otago on 19th May, under Anglin, late of the *Caroline*, whose place was taken by Bruce.

Captain Worth reported that the *Joseph Weller* was at Otago when he left. He also stated that a large boat had been washed ashore about 20 miles north of Weller's Establishment at New Zealand, and, from the description given by the natives, it must have been about 30 feet long. The boat had a lugger sail, with three reefs in it, and was nearly to pieces. The general impression was that it was a boat which had been taken possession of by a party of convicts at Norfolk Island. Weller's Establishment had been visited by dreadful hurricanes during the latter end of March, but no very great damage had resulted. The *Joseph Weller* was the only vessel that Captain Worth saw, going or returning.

The *Lucy Ann* returned from her second voyage on 16th August, having left New Zealand on 21st July, with 100 tuns of black oil,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton whalebone and 3 tons potatoes. She brought with her as passengers several Maoris taken away by Anglin against their will. The following day the *Joseph Weller* came into port, having called in at Port Nicholson and Cloudy Bay, and brought Guard, of the shipwrecked *Harriett* to Sydney. Her cargo was 120 tuns black oil,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  tons whalebone and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons of potatoes.

Captain Anglin's account of his Otago experiences was as follows:—

“While the *Lucy Ann* was at Otago, a very large body of natives, about five hundred, arrived from Cloudy Bay, where they had been at war with a contending tribe. They treated the residents with much insolence, and struck Mr. Weller repeatedly, and assaulted Captain Hayward and most of the gentlemen there. They took the pipes out of the mouths of the servants, and went into the houses and broke open the boxes, taking whatever they thought proper from them. After this, about half of them left Otago for the purpose of going, as they said, to Port Bunn (the establishment of George Bunn & Co.) which they did. The rest remained behind, and while there a child belonging to one of

the Chiefs died, which, under some superstitious impression, they attributed to the visit of the *Lucy Ann*. In consequence of this they resolved to take the vessel and assassinate Mr. Weller, Captain Hayward, Captain Anglim, and the rest of the Europeans. On going ashore for a raft of oil, Captain Hayward was informed, by one of the native boys, of the intentions of the natives to murder them all, and take the ship. Captain Anglim immediately left off work, and before daylight next morning the *Lucy Ann* was in a state of defence. The natives soon found that the Europeans were acquainted with their intentions, and gave up the idea of taking the vessel for that time. Captain Anglim, previous to his departure, for the better security of the lives of the residents of Otago, and its neighbourhood, persuaded some of the Chiefs on board, and having got them below set sail for Sydney in the most secret manner, and kept the natives as hostages for the good conduct of their tribe during the absence of the *Lucy Ann*. The utmost consternation is felt about this part of New Zealand, by the labourers belonging to those gentlemen who are residing near Otago, and very little work can be done by them."

The *Lucy Ann* had the misfortune to lose three of her men while whaling off the coast, through a boat capsizing while they were fast to a whale. She brought up a sample of New Zealand coal which was represented as clean and bright burning and likely to form another article of commerce with the Islands.

At the same time an extract from a letter dated 21st July, which came up in the *Lucy Ann* and which is evidently from the pen of Weller, was published in the Sydney papers.

"I am very sorry to inform you that the natives have been very insolent and troublesome; they were on the point of taking and plundering the *Lucy Ann*

but for the activity of Captain Anglin, who repulsed them. The brig *Mary Elizabeth*, Captain Lovatt, from Hobart Town, very narrowly escaped capture, by making a precipitate retreat; they took her boat, gear, and dead whales, and also took out of the vessel whatever they thought proper; I did not fare better myself, as they took from me whatever they pleased, and would have killed most of us, had there not been a Chief's son residing with you in Sydney, and whom I told them would be hanged if they destroyed any of us,—this had the desired effect.

“I shall be obliged to leave the place if some sort of protection be not afforded to the Europeans. What havoc have they not been making at Cloudy Bay.”

There was probably something more in the plundering of the *Mary and Elizabeth* than was represented in the above communication. This boat was the property of James Kelly, who had already been advised by Weller that the natives had threatened to seize one of his ships on account of an old standing grudge.

The movements of the *Mary and Elizabeth* following this incident have already been recorded.

During the absence of the *Lucy Ann* at Otago her old commander passed away. On 13th June Captain Worth went out to take tea with a friend, and, when near his own home, about 9 o'clock in the evening, fell down and expired. The verdict of the coroner's jury was “Died by the visitation of God.”

The *Joseph Weller* returned to Otago on 4th September.

About this date Mr. Weller decided to ship some of the Otago oil direct to England, instead of *via* Sydney, and he made enquiries of the Customs officers whether that could be done. The Sydney authorities were unable to advise and Mr. Weller chartered the *John Barry*, 540 tons, Robinson, to proceed to Otago for oil and return to Sydney with same before proceeding to London. The chartered vessel left on the 24th September with a supply of whaling stores.



Four days after the *John Barry* left Sydney the *Joseph Weller* sailed from Otago, under circumstances set out in a letter published in the "Sydney Herald" of 16th October, thought to be from the pen of Captain Hayward.

Otago New Zealand

28th September 1834.

"The schooner *Joseph Weller* arrived on the 21st of September, all safe, I believe, through her timely arrival, our lives have obtained a respite of a few weeks, that is to say, as soon as the *Lucy Ann* shall arrive, and the two Chiefs which went up in her shall return. They make no hesitation in telling us that they will murder us all, and divide our property among them, each man having made his selection. Since their return from Cloudy Bay, they have been so much emboldened by their success in plundering the white people there, and they take from us whatever suits their fancy, such as our clothing, and food off our very plates—help themselves to oil, in such quantities as they require from our pots. They say white people are afraid of them, for great numbers of vessels have been taken and plundered by them, and white men killed, and Europeans dare not come and punish them for so doing; and if they did come they (the natives) would all run into the bush, where they would be enabled to kill all the Europeans; but white men do not know how to fight with a New Zealander. We asked them why they wished to kill us? they answer with as much indifference as a butcher would do, that it was necessary for their safety, for then 'no one would know what would become of us.' We are under constant apprehension of being burnt in our beds every night; and of the Natives robbing and shooting those that remain, as they attempt to escape. Once or twice Tabooca (Te Whakataupuka), who is one of the worst disposed chiefs, and a horrid cannibal, came

up with his mob with that intention, armed, but was persuaded to desist by the relatives of those Chiefs in Sydney, until the arrival of the *Lucy Ann*; when after some consultation, they departed, having first endeavoured to provoke me to quarrel. However, a fire they would have, and they burnt down a Native's and a European's house. The schooner *Joseph Weller*, having brought the news that two ships of war were coming to New Zealand to seek revenge for the murder of the people of the *Harriet*, surprised them a little but when they heard the small number of men (nearly sixty) they laughed at the idea. Notwithstanding, that very circumstance has saved the *Joseph Weller* from being taken, and all of us from being massacred, the night after her arrival. Had those Chiefs come down that went up to Sydney in the *Lucy Ann*, all would now have been over with us, for as soon as it became dark, a great number of strangers crowded on board, under pretence of bringing women, when they began an indiscriminate plunder—some opening the hatches and going below—others taking whatever they could lay their hands upon, but were once more stopped by the relations of the Chiefs in Sydney; so you see everything is got ready for an immediate attack, and God only knows what our fates may be. We put great hopes in the statements which have appeared in the Sydney Papers, that two men-of-war were on the coast, and in all probability they will visit this place; if they do not come here after having told the natives they would, and seek revenge if they should kill us, our fates will then be certain. However we are all prepared for the worst, and we are determined to die like men, and not give up the ghost without a struggle. We are all well armed, and are determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible. We have petitioned the Governor for assistance, but I am fearful that it will arrive too late to rescue us from

destruction. If you should get this letter, send down another vessel well armed with the *Lucy Ann*. I have only landed part of the goods from the schooner; the remainder I return, and have despatched Mr. Snowden, in hope that he may arrive in time to make arrangements for sending down two vessels to bring up all our property, as the whole of us intend to abandon the place should our lives be spared."

Snowden reached Sydney on 15th October, with 28 tuns oil and 3 tons of bone. He saw no other vessels, going or returning, nor did he hear anything of the movements of H.M.S. *Alligator* or of the *Isabella*.

The next trip of the *Joseph Weller* she was provided by the Government with six swivels and a long gun, to enable her to act with effect should violence be offered. Edward Weller came up in her from Otago, leaving there on 15th November and reaching Sydney on the twenty-sixth. The *John Barry* was at Otago at the same time and sailed three days before the *Joseph Weller* with 155 tuns of oil and 10 tons of whalebone, reaching Sydney four days later. She brought up J. Hayward, John Foster and a gang of 18 whalers. The word brought up by these vessels was that the natives had become very civil and their conduct had improved so much that Weller had made up his mind to remain a few months longer. On 4th December Captain Stitt took down Edward Weller, Philpson and William Shaw, in the *Joseph Weller*, to the Otago station.

### 1835.

The plethora of news from Otago during the year 1834 gives place to a very commonplace repetition of arrivals, departures, and cargoes, during 1835.

On 7th January, the *Lucy Ann* sailed, with Captain Anglin in command, but beyond the fact that she left New Zealand on 23rd April, and returned on 15th May with 50 barrels of oil on board, nothing is known of her trip.

On 14th February the *Joseph Weller* sailed from the "southern part of New Zealand" with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons whalebone, 31 casks salt fish, 65 seal skins, 4000 dried fish and a cask of sundries, and reached Sydney on 4th March under the command of Stitt. Captain Stitt reported that he had seen the Hobart Town whaler, *Socrates*, on his passage up, and that while at New Zealand he had spoken the *New Zealander* and the *Sydney Packet* on the point of sailing for Sydney. The arrival of this large cargo of New Zealand dried and salt fish created considerable interest in Sydney, and 2 tons were sent straight away in the *Currency Lass* to Hobart Town. Another portion of the cargo got further afield, but that will be dealt with under another heading.

The brig *Children* was chartered and sent down to Otago with stores on 11th March. She was to call at another part of the colony for a return cargo of flax.

During her next trip to New Zealand (17th March to 11th May) the *Lucy Ann*, which was now a regular whaler, called in at Otago with 50 barrels of oil on board. She had suffered by "the neglect and desertion of one of the officers," and was on her road to Sydney, where she arrived on 15th May, in charge of the mate. As she left under Captain Anglin it would look as if that officer was the man blamed for neglect and desertion.

Captain Camroux then went on board the *Joseph Weller* and sailed on the 24th May, with Edward Weller and a whaling gang for the Otago station. He returned on 25th July after a passage of 27 days, with 12 tuns of oil, 4 tons of whalebone, and 10 tons potatoes. T. Gray was the only passenger.

Shortly after the *Joseph Weller* left Otago on her last trip, Joseph Weller, who had been suffering from consumption, died. His remains were preserved in a puncheon of rum and shipped on board the barque *Sushannah*, which called in for a cargo and sailed on 6th September for Sydney. She reached her destination on the twenty-



seventh. During her stay measles were making headway among the Maoris.

The *Lucy Ann*, as a bay whaler instead of a trader, began to seek for fresh places for the pursuit of whales and sailed on 1st June for Port Cooper. On 22nd September she left that port with 90 tuns of oil and a few tons of whalebone. She had been absent from Sydney for only about five months and Captain Rapsey stated that had it not been for rough weather he would have filled his vessel in that time. The *Joseph Weller* was the only vessel in Port Cooper when the *Lucy Ann* left. The former afterwards sailed to Otago, where she took on board a gang of whalers on 2nd December, and returned to Sydney on the eighteenth, with 8 casks of oil, 13 tons whalebone and 400 bags of potatoes, consigned to G. Weller.

On 8th December the bark *Persian* was sent down from Sydney to bring up the balance of the season's oil and then proceed to London with a full cargo.

We are able to give the exact production of oil at Weller's station, from a letter written to the Collector of Customs, Sydney.

Pitman's Wharf, Sydney,  
22 March, 1836.

Sir,—

In reply to your letter of the 19th inst., I beg to inform you that the number of persons employed at my Black Whale Fishing Establishment at Otago New Zealand the last season were eighty five, three fourths of which were Europeans.

My Establishment was founded in the year 1832 and the proceeds during the following season viz. 1833 was 95 Impl Tuns of Black oil and four and half Tons Whalebone & in 1834 275 Impl Tuns of oil and 13 Tons Whalebone, and in 1835 430 Impl Tuns of oil and 20 Tons Whalebone, all which oil and whalebone has been shipped to London.

I further beg to mention that during the year 1835 I employed in transshipping supplies from this

to New Zealand and return cargo to amount of 1015 Tons of British Shipping, besides a small schooner of 50 tons continually running between this and the Establishment.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your obedient servant

Geo. Weller.

Major Gibbes, M.C.

&c., &c., &c.

The total produce of the Station since its establishment was, therefore, 800 tuns of oil and  $37\frac{1}{2}$  tons of whale-bone, or 21 tuns of oil to 1 ton of bone.

The whaling operations carried on at Weller's Station were responsible for two very interesting decisions on the preferential tariff which at that time prevailed in connection with the whaling trade. The consideration of these two cases requires a short review of the circumstances which led up to the legislation and its terms, and to enable this to be done more effectively, the review, and all the cases which arose under the tariff, are brought together and dealt with under a common heading.

## CHAPTER VII.

### RESCUE OF THE "HARRIETT'S" CREW, 1834.

On 14th April, 1834, a vessel of 240 tons called the *Harriett*, commanded by Richard Hall, sailed from Sydney for Cloudy Bay. On board of her was a shore whaling gang under John Guard, already well known to our readers as the pioneer of shore whaling in Cook Strait. Guard was accompanied by his wife and two children—a son and a daughter. Besides these were two mates and 23 ordinary seamen.

At half-past four on the morning of 29th April, the *Harriett* was driven ashore at Cape Egmont in a strong W.S.W. gale, and by evening had been battered to pieces on the rocks. None of those on board were drowned, but all were got ashore, with only ten muskets, a small quantity of powder, a few sails—which were afterwards made into tents—and some provisions. Three of the ship's boats were got off in safety.

While the shipwrecked mariners were making the best of their unfortunate position ashore, and were actually preparing a boat to sail to Cloudy Bay, they were visited, on 1st May, by some thirty natives. Three days afterwards two seamen, named Thomas Mossman and James Johnson, joined the Maoris and took away with them some of the powder and other materials rescued from the wreck. On the seventh, a whole tribe of 200 men, armed with muskets, tomahawks, and spears, came down upon the unfortunate party, plundered, and maltreated them, and at the same time threatened to kill and eat them.

The climax came on the tenth, when the rival forces occupied the opposing banks of a river, the Europeans under arms the whole night through, determined that a fitting tribute of Maori life should accompany their own destruction. The attack commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, when the Maoris rushed the little party and cut

down two of them, one of whom Guard says they cut into two and the other they cut up into joints for their cannibal repast. Then the Europeans opened fire, and an engagement commenced which lasted over an hour, when, although the Maoris had on several occasions been compelled to withdraw, they had, by taking advantage of their superior numbers, and utilizing the shelter furnished by the broken ground, killed some twelve of the defenders and forced the remainder to retreat. The Maoris fought from holes which they dug in the ground. Captives who were alive—with the exception of Mrs. Guard and her children—were at once killed. Even Mrs. Guard was twice cut down by a tomahawk, and was only saved from having her head split open by a large comb which she wore in her hair. Guard was amongst those who escaped.

The fourteen survivors made their way towards Moturoa, the old native settlement at the Sugar Loaf Islands, a little south of the foot of the New Plymouth breakwater. On their road they fell in with a party of about 100 Maoris, to whom, as they had no means of continuing the combat, they surrendered. After being kept for a few hours they were sent on as prisoners to Moturoa. Here they were confined for three days in the Pa, in a state of nudity, living on potatoes supplied by the Natives. When the three days had passed, the marauders returned from the scene of the wreck and divided up the party of Europeans among them as slaves, each man going to the Maori who had stripped him. Some of their clothes were returned to the prisoners, some were appropriated by their captors, and portions of the flesh of their comrades were offered them for food.

After a fortnight had elapsed, the Natives reported that a boat still remained at the scene of the wreck. Hearing this, Guard made the proposition to them that if they would allow him and some others to go away in the boat he would return with a cask of powder as a ransom for the party. The Natives accepted his offer, brought round the boat on 20th May, and arranged that five men should accompany him, while the remaining eight, including his



brother, should remain as hostages. The ransom of the prisoners was treated by all as a purely commercial undertaking.

With the primitive appliances at their command, consisting only of a hammer, a pocket knife, and a few nails got from the broken timbers of the other boats, at the cost of one month of infinite labour, the boat was patched up and Guard was ready to leave. He sailed from Moturoa on 20th June and several Maori chiefs accompanied him.

The following narrative of the voyage was given to the Sydney papers:—

“June 20.—Captain Guard and six Europeans, accompanied by three natives, started for Cloudy Bay in a small whale-boat, and which was in such a bad state, that it required one hand to be constantly engaged in bailing the water out. After being at sea in an open boat for two days and two nights, we reached Blind Bay, and hauled our boat on the beach, being unable to proceed further at that time on account of the wind blowing strong from the north, with heavy rains.

“June 22.—Started from Blind Bay; the night, however, coming on, and a heavy sea from the N.E. caused us to put in at a small river, where we again fell in with a party of natives, who robbed us of what we had in the boats, and our oars, and if we had not known some of them, they would have stolen our boat, and perhaps have done what was worse. We were here detained one day.

“June 25.—Started and reached Stephens Island where we had the pleasure of a meal of mussels from the rocks; we were afraid to visit the native settlements, expecting, if we did, that we should be taken prisoners or slaughtered, or lose our boat.

“June 26.—About 4 p.m. (and we have much reason to recollect the hour) we arrived at the European Settlement, Queen Charlotte’s Sound, where we had the pleasure of hearing of the

schooner, *Joseph Weller*, Captain Morris, which was lying at Port Nicholson. For the kindness of Captain Morris, we shall always feel grateful.

June 27.—Reached Cloudy Bay."

At Cloudy Bay they found the *Marianne*, of Hobart Town, and Captain Sinclair, who commanded her, did everything in his power to assist them. He not only lent the party a boat to go across to Port Nicholson and get in touch with the *Joseph Weller*, but he gave Guard a supply of goods to ransom his wife and family, and the imprisoned sailors. On 30th June, Guard's party reached Port Nicholson and found the *Joseph Weller* getting ready to return to Sydney.

Guard experienced no difficulty in arranging with the captain of the *Joseph Weller* to call at Moturoa, to leave the chiefs and the ransom, and take away the shipwrecked mariners, together with Mrs. Guard and the children.

The *Joseph Weller* crossed over to Cloudy Bay and sailed from there on 14th July, but the weather prevented her making the Taranaki coast, and she went on to Sydney, where she landed Guard and the three Maoris on 17th August.

Up to this stage Guard had never done anything else than regard the rescue of the prisoners as merely a question of ransom, and had made all his plans to pay such ransom and to bring on the unfortunate captives to Sydney in the *Joseph Weller*. Had he not been prevented from carrying out this scheme by the accident of bad weather, the whole incident would doubtless have been closed by this time. Now, however, things began to develop a new phase in Sydney.

The *Joseph Weller* had come from Otago where the local whaling station was in fear of an attack by the natives at any hour. When she reached Sydney it was found that the *Lucy Ann* had arrived from Otago the day before with a full account of the dangers which beset Mr. Weller's establishment. Probably a conference between the captains of the *Joseph Weller*, the *Lucy Ann* and the other New

Zealand captains in Sydney, was responsible for Guard's next step. He now abandoned the idea of ransom, and applied, under date 22nd August, for the assistance of the New South Wales Government, and stated his own and Captain Anglin's willingness to assist any party sent down to punish the natives and to teach them to respect the British. In saying, as they did, that they would be able to conduct the vessel to the best ports, the two captains evidently had in view a visit to Otago.

Guard was examined before the Executive Council on 22nd August, and frankly stated "A blanket, a canister of powder, some fish-hooks, and other trifling articles, would be sufficient ransom for each man, but more would be required for the women and children." He also stated: "I believe if a ship-of-war were to go there, and a few soldiers landed, they could be got without ransom." The excited condition, which the news brought by the *Joseph Welier* and the *Lucy Ann* had thrown Sydney into, was probably what nerved Guard, in spite of his admission that the captives could be ransomed, to ask for a man-of-war, and say: "I will not rest here, if a force is not sent down to intimidate them."

He succeeded, and persuaded the Executive Council, with only the Colonial Treasurer dissenting, to make an application to Captain Lambert, of H.M.S. *Alligator*, then in Sydney, to obtain the restoration, peacefully or by force. For which latter purpose, in case it should be required, a military force was provided.

Three sources of information are open to us when we come to describe what took place from this time onwards. Official Despatches, published in London in 1835, give the text of Governor Bourke's Report to the Colonial Office, which forwarded the Reports of the commanders of the ships and of the troops. The Journal of H.M.S. *Alligator*, which is to be found in the Record Office, London, gives a quantity of interesting matter which has not appeared in any description of the expedition up to the present date. Lastly, William Barnett Marshall, who was surgeon on

board H.M.S. *Alligator*, published a detailed account of the proceedings, and, though evidently written with intense feeling, and to that extent open to question as to his conclusions, his narrative of the different incidents is very valuable, and can be relied on. For the proper Maori names and the location, I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Skinner and Mr. S. P. Smith, of New Plymouth. The traditional Maori version will be found in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XIX., pp. 108 and 109. The well-written European account which precedes it suffers in details, by the fact that the writer had not before him the printed despatches of the two commanders, dealing with the events which transpired after H.M.S. *Alligator* arrived off the Taranaki coast.

No time was lost by Governor Bourke in making the necessary arrangements with Captain Lambert. The 50th, or Queen's Own Regiment, was stationed at Sydney at the time, and three officers and 60 men were taken and distributed between H.M.S. *Alligator* and the Colonial schooner *Isabella*—Lieutenant Gunton and 25 men to the former, and Captain Johnston, Ensign Wright and 40 men to the latter—and the two vessels left Sydney under command of Captain Lambert on 31st August; Guard and his sailors accompanied the expedition; Battersbey acted as interpreter, and Miller as pilot.

On 12th September, the *Alligator* reached Taranaki, and Captain Lambert landed Battersbey and Miller at Te Namu Pa, with instructions to demand the restoration of Mrs. Elizabeth Guard and her two children, John and Louisa. When these men landed, they discovered that Mrs. Guard and her children had been removed to Waimate, and the two interpreters accordingly determined to push on with a guide to that pa, which was about twenty miles away. Captain Lambert took his ship down the coast and cast anchor opposite the Waimate and Orangi-tuapeka Pas. He then sent an officer in a boat to negotiate with the natives, but without success, as the latter demanded a ransom, and the captain had determined to give none.



Guard acted as interpreter. His policy, as we have seen, was "no ransom."

Up to this time, readers will remember, British troops had never met Maoris, and it could hardly be expected that lessons which had not been learnt in the "sixties," after several Native wars had taken place, were known by intuition before the first British-Maori engagement.

The following day the vessels had to run for shelter, and they made for a little bay on the South Island, near Point Jackson, where they found excellent shelter, good anchoring ground, and plenty of wood and fresh water. Before leaving this spot the name of Gore Harbour was given to it, after the commander of the naval station belonging to these waters. Old native huts were there, but no inhabitants were seen.

On the sixteenth, Lambert sailed for the North Island again, and, on the afternoon of the next day, took on board the two interpreters at Te Namu. The two men appear to have had a terrible time of it. They fled in fear from Te Namu Pa and made for Waimate, but were prevented from entering that place by the stories of Maoris they met on the road, that the inhabitants would eat them. Not knowing where to go, they sought refuge in the bush, but a night or two of that was enough, and they returned to the Te Namu Pa. What they represented to the Natives is referred to only in Marshall's account, but there is no reason to doubt his story that they admitted having led the Maoris to believe that they would be well rewarded on returning the captives. This certainly complicated the position very much, and the subsequent regrettable incidents probably owed something to the cowardice shown by these two men.

Once more Lambert was driven for shelter to the South Island. On the eighteenth, a storm drove him for refuge to a beautiful harbour on D'Urville Island, to which the name of Port Hardy was given. Here the troops were landed and exercised in target practice. Already a fairly

large ransom had been frittered away, and not one soul rescued.

On Sunday the twentieth, Lambert weighed anchor and reached Moturoa, where the Native fortifications on Mikotahi and Paritutu evoked the wonder and admiration of the sailors. Speaking of the latter, Marshall says:

"The most prominent feature of this picture is a round and lofty promontory, rising by an almost perpendicular ascent from the mainland to the height of several hundred feet, and forming the site of another Pa, the stockading of which seemed like reeds when seen from the ship, and the inhabitants proportionately diminutive. It occasioned an almost universal exclamation of surprise from those on board, how any human being could have dreamed of building on such a spot; and captious indeed must he be who could withhold his admiration from the courage, perseverance, and laborious industry of the men who have here fixed 'their highland home.' "

On the afternoon of 21st September a whaleboat and gig were lowered, the four New Zealander chiefs who had been across to Sydney (Quinacke, Hawaree, Ontere, and Hakawaw) were landed, and eight of the shipwrecked men from the *Harriett* were liberated by the Maoris immediately they were demanded. The names of these men were Wm. Christopher, Jas. Johnstone, John Francis, John McDonald, Danl. Harris, Edward Chester, and Charles Guard. One John Oliver, described by Guard as the only European resident of the place, came on board H.M.S. *Alligator* with the *Harriett's* crew. He was one of a flax party that had long been located in Taranaki and whose companions had moved south. The men had now been four months in the hands of the Maoris, and were looking very haggard and poverty stricken. They had been poorly clad and still more poorly fed, but the treatment otherwise was nothing to complain of.

Some little doubt prevails regarding the name of the eighth *Harriett* sailor. Probably it was Horseback who was

received on board the *Alligator* on 23rd September, and was discharged to the *Isabella*, on the same day as all the others, but C. Guard, who that day came on board the *Alligator*, presumably from the *Isabella*. They appear to have taken away a New Zealander, "Bobby," with them when they sailed.

Marshall describes the *Harriett* men in very unfavourable terms, and states that, although they were rescued and had clothes bought for them out of the pockets of their deliverers, they refused to help to work the ship on which they were, unless they were paid for it. In justice to the men it should be stated that they alleged themselves physically unfit after their long privations to do the work asked of them. Two had escaped from the Maoris—one was drowned crossing a river, and the other reached the Mission Station at Kawhia. This would make sixteen in the party that escaped when Mrs. Guard was captured.

Bad weather prevented a landing for several days, but during that time—on the twenty-fifth—Battsey got ashore at Te Namu and found that Mrs. Guard and one of her children were there. Marshall says they were in readiness to be delivered up on payment of a ransom, but Lambert simply reports that the Natives refused to give them up. There appeared so little hostility on the part of the Natives, that one of them actually came aboard. The soldiers were now on the schooner, and with them were Guard's men, and Marshall alleges that the influence of the latter caused a general impatience among the former to get ashore and meet the Maoris.

On the morning of Sunday, 28th September, finding that a landing could be made, orders were given to Captain Johnston to proceed with 30 soldiers and marines, and the boat's crew of the *Alligator*, and attack the pa.

As the party landed the Natives came along the sands to meet them. One was a chief, Oaoiti, who claimed to be the proprietor of Mrs. Guard, and who promised to give her up if he received the payment which it was

alleged the terrified interpreters had represented would be paid for her. His only reply was to be seized and sent to the *Alligator* in a boat manned by Guard's sailors. On the passage to the ship he was treated with every possible indignity, until he finally jumped overboard, when he was fired at and wounded in the leg, before being recaptured and brought on board the *Alligator*, when he fainted from loss of blood as he reached the deck. Twelve bayonet and bullet wounds were found on him by the surgeon. Though it was unfortunate that Guard's men were employed on any service at all in this connection, it is satisfactory to know that it was not a party of British soldiers who meted out this treatment to the Chief. Captain Lambert records the arrival of the Chief on board, in the following matter of fact entry:—

"11 Whale Boat returned on board with a New Zealand Chief (wounded)."

Captain Johnston lost no time in carrying out his instructions and led his men against Te Namu. It was a stronghold which, like many other Maori fortifications, had been chosen with consummate skill. It occupied a triangular arch of land, bounded towards the sea by a precipice, and cut off from the mainland, on a second face, by a stream of running water. A narrow isthmus of land connected the third face with the mainland. There were two entrances, and a few men might have held them against a whole company of soldiers. This easily defended citadel the Maoris abandoned without firing a shot, and only a solitary pig grunted at the troopers as they rushed within its invincible ramparts.

As the natives fled, they took with them Mrs. Guard and her child. The storming party was accordingly divided into two forces, the first of which sought to rescue the white woman; Mr. McMurdo, the senior mate of the *Alligator*, led the other party; both of them failed in their pursuit. In the meantime a party of natives came down and plundered the boats, taking away three oars and a boat rudder. They vanished as quickly as they had



come, but had they known that all the ship's boats but one were lying on the beach in front of them, they could have made things very awkward for the rescuers of Mrs. Guard. That afternoon and evening, which were wet, were spent by the men in the pa, divided up amongst the Maori dwelling places, and fires were lit to cook the potatoes which were found in great quantities in the pits, which are still visible, scattered about all over the place. At daybreak, on Monday 29th September, Guard reported that there were several huts not far off and a party was sent to reconnoitre, but without result. Later on a report was brought in that Natives were visible, and Captain Johnston set out to get in touch with them. He succeeded, and Battersbey and Marshall ascertained that Mrs. Guard had been removed to Waimate, which was considered impregnable. Several of those present at the interview wore clothing stolen from the ship's boat. On his return, Johnston burnt Te Namu and re-embarked his forces. Shortly afterwards the *Alligator* almost drifted ashore, but by dropping the anchor her progress shorewards was arrested, and after some hours in a dangerous situation, she was got out to sea.

At half-past one on the thirtieth, when opposite Waimate, the boats were sent in to negotiate with the Natives for the release of Mrs. Guard. The Natives saw them coming and were apparently ready to have their revenge. They had Mrs. Guard and her child down on the beach to invite the soldiers ashore, but the good lady took the opportunity of warning them of the danger. The Natives themselves sang "Haere-mai, haere-mai." This and other attractions were continued until the boats were near the shore, when a war dance was commenced, but Captain Lambert wisely declined their invitation, and the boats returned to the ships, after having landed a Native who had volunteered to come on board at the last stopping place. By this means, word was conveyed to the Natives that their chief, Oaoiti, was alive. Towards evening another attempt to establish communication with the shore

was, owing to the weather, unsuccessful, but the natives could be seen, gathered in circles listening to their orators, and every now and again giving vent to their opinions with loud demonstrations, finally ending with three cheers. At this korero they decided to give up Mrs. Guard.

At ten o'clock two boats made for the shore. One of them contained Oaoiti, whose wounds, which would have killed a European, had been dressed for the last time by Marshall, and who had been promised that on the delivery of Mrs. Guard and her children, he would be liberated. Arrived outside the surf, the Maori chief harangued his countrymen, who, delighted at seeing him once more alive, brought down Mrs. Guard and her child, placed them in a canoe, and launched them. It was not long before they were on board the *Alligator*, and Oaoiti among his countrymen. The parting present of the Maoris to Mrs. Guard was a Native dress, consisting of two superb mats, while that of the Europeans to Oaoiti consisted of a blanket, a shirt, a jacket—which the chief wore, buttoned behind—and a Scotch cap.

There still remained the boy to be recovered. Captain Lambert had surrendered the chief for Mrs. Guard and her daughter, realising that, as the boy was under the control of another tribe, it would not be reasonable to expect both children to be given up without special negotiations with the other tribe. A message was therefore sent to the second tribe demanding the return of the lad, and the vessel waited off the pa for a reply. Everything appeared to be going to end well, though costly, and Natives came out through the surf and carried on a traffic in curios and potatoes with the sailors and soldiers. It was at this stage that the serious mistake of the expedition appears to have been made. First of all, by orders, fearing treachery, the boats returned to the ships, and all communication with the shore ceased for some time. In the afternoon, Lieutenant Thomas again approached the shore, only to return in an hour with the report that he had been fired on from the pa. In his Journal, Lambert says:—

“2. The Boat returned having been fired on from the Pah. 3. Beat to quarters and commenced firing on the canoes.”

In his report to Governor Bourke, Lambert says. “A reef of rocks, which extend some distance from the shore. I regret prevented my getting as near them as I could have wished.” He, however, brought the two vessels in until they touched bottom, and then, out of range of the harmless firearms of the Natives, the two vessels bombarded their pa and fired at their boats for three hours. At one stage the Natives held up the little boy Guard, and hoisted a white flag. The white flag is said to have been hoisted more than once. It was no use, the demonstration of force went on to a finish.

To meet the natural fear of the reader that the incident is wildly exaggerated, the author gives the following copy of a certificate, found by him amongst the papers of H.M.S. *Alligator*:—

H.M.S. *Alligator*, October 1st, Cook Straits.  
Extended firing on the Pahs of Wyomatte and Ultramooce in consequence of the Natives on shore firing on our Boats.

| Article                                       | No.    |
|---|--------|
| Catrs Filled with 2 lb. 10 oz. of Powder ..   | 250    |
| Cartrs filled with 1 lb. 8 oz. of Powder ..   | 30     |
| Cartrs filled with 3 lbs. 11 oz. of Powder .. | 14     |
| Powder for priming F. Gm. ....                | 20 lbs |
| Tubes Fynmore .. ..                           | 160    |
| Shot Round 32 Pns .. ..                       | 250    |
| Shot Round 18 Pns .. ..                       | 30     |
| Shot Round 9 Pns .. ..                        | 14     |
| Grape Shot 32 Pns. .. ..                      | 6      |
| Case Shot 32 Pns .. ..                        | 6      |

D. McKenzie, Gunner.

During the three hours' bombardment 306 shots were fired from the big guns. It is not to be wondered at that collectors of curios have not yet exhausted the supply of round shot from the battlefield of Betty Guard Island.

How did the Maoris behave when under the fire of the British troops for the first time? They sent away their women and children, and, in regard to the remainder, betrayed not the slightest sign of fear; they even watched the flight of the shot, and, when they located where one fell, rushed forward eagerly to secure it. They tried the white flag, but gave it up when they found it produced no result. Now and again they fired off their own little guns, but for the most part did nothing but look on at their homes and their canoes being reduced to matchwood, with 306 discharges of round, grape, and case shot.

A westerly gale on 2nd of October, drove the fleet across to Port Hardy, where they spent until the fifth, and Lieutenant Woore completed a survey of the harbour.

Lambert was determined to rescue the boy, and he returned to Waimate on the sixth. This time, on the first request for the child, the Natives invited the boats to land, but steadily refused to give him up. Next morning those Maoris who had possession of the boy, offered to bring the lad on board if an officer went ashore as a hostage. One man was willing to go, but the captain would not hear of it, and it seemed as if the expedition was going to fail in the accomplishment of its object.

On the eighth, 6 officers and 112 men, including Guard and his men were landed about three miles to the south of the pa, with four days' provisions and 70 rounds per man. There was landed with them a small six pound carronade under McMurdo, and Marshall states that the first gig lay off the pa carrying a flag of truce. Lieutenant Clarke found a spot above the cliff, where the Natives had improvised means of ascent, by ropes suspended from strong stakes driven into crevices in the rock. Up this the men climbed, and the gun and ammunition was hoisted by means of ropes landed from the ship. At this stage Natives approached and intimated their desire to have the matter settled peacefully. The soldiers were at once halted, and more Natives coming up intimated that the child would be produced as soon as it could be made presentable.



At last the lad arrived, seated astride of a chief's back, with Oaoiti in European dress bringing up the rear. Lieutenant McMurdo and a party of five seamen, with the two interpreters, were told off to take possession of the child, but the chief who carried him "expressed a wish," so says the despatch, "to go on board the ships for the purpose of receiving the ransom which he supposed would be given for the child." He was told that none would be given, and, absolutely fearless in the midst of so many armed Europeans, he turned to run away with his precious burden. One of the sailors seized hold of the child, and, finding that the lad was tied to the chief's back, he cut him adrift, and the boy fell on the beach. Another seaman, seeing the chief escaping, levelled his firelock and stretched the brave old fellow lifeless on the sand.

Frightful as was this, it was nothing to what followed. In the twinkling of an eye, firing commenced and spread along the whole line, first along the beach, then along the cliff, volley after volley being poured on the poor natives, whose only safety was in flight, or crouching behind the boulders strewn along the beach. Captain Johnston and Ensign Wright rushed among the men crying out to stop firing, but it was some time before they could get their orders obeyed, so utterly beyond control had the warlike spirit of the soldiers got. At last this unforgivable incident ended by the cessation of firing, and preparations were made to fall back to the landing place.

Having got his men under control and obtained possession of the child, Captain Johnston decided to reembark, and signalled to the vessel. But bad luck was following his footsteps, the weather came up thick, the wind shifted, and the vessels stood out to sea. Just as Johnston found himself adrift from his vessels, some Natives, concealed in high flax, opened fire on the soldiers and the "Advance" was sounded. The Maoris were easily cleared out, and the whole party advanced towards the pa. On the road a second engagement of a minor nature took place. When

within a mile of the pas, there was encountered a deep ravine with a swollen stream running at its foot. At first it was thought impossible to get the guns across, but Lieutenant McMurdo overcame all difficulties and the troops were before the Waimate and Orangi-tuapeka Pas at half-past four.

McMurdo's artillery was too much for the brave Maoris, and they fled after a few shots had been fired. But the honours of the engagement are given to a chief, who left his pa slowly and deliberately, firing at his assailants as often as he could reload, while he was, himself, the mark of 100 guns. He never went out of a walk, never spared a shot, never avoided a bullet, and he left the field dignified and uninjured. The deserted pa was at once occupied by the soldiers.

That evening the troops were visited by Lieutenant Thomas and Midshipman Dayman, who had been sent by Captain Lambert with a fresh stock of ammunition, but on landing, their boat was stove and they and the crew had to remain ashore. The fire lit in the pa to cook food for the men got beyond control, and quite a number of whares were burnt, and a considerable quantity of powder exploded. Until the fires were extinguished, the soldiers ran considerable danger of being hemmed in by the conflagration, in which case few indeed would have escaped from the trap.

The sea during the morning of the ninth was too rough to embark the soldiers, and the day had to be spent ashore. As the men searched about for anything which inquisitiveness prompted them to unearth, they discovered the preserved head of a European, which Guard's men identified as Clarke, late of the barque *Harriett*. It was not until the eleventh that the state of the surf permitted embarkation, and, on a signal of two guns from the pa, Captain Lambert sent his boats off and the men were taken aboard.

The object of the expedition having been attained, Captain Lambert sailed on the eleventh for Kapiti, which he reached the following morning and found that the

information had already preceded him and caused considerable alarm. There, on a low tongue of land which runs out like a natural pier, was the native village with numerous canoes drawn up on the beach. The opposite shore was covered with huts and canoes. Several natives came off to the vessels, and among others Te Rauparaha, who expressed himself well pleased when he heard what had been done, but regretted that so few had been killed. The old cannibal asked why none of the bodies had been brought for him to eat and stated that he would go and fight them himself. According to Marshall, his appearance, conduct, and character, were those of a complete savage, but he had the reputation of treating Europeans well, and encouraging shipping to come to Kapiti. The same authority states that an Englishman had resided there for several years as the agent of a mercantile house in Sydney and his report of Te Rauparaha's treatment of him was satisfactory. His besetting sin was covetousness and he indulged in it to the utmost. If spoken to he asked for muskets, blankets, pipes, or tobacco. While here some of the natives were seen wearing convict's clothes.

The *Alligator* and the *Isabella* stopped only a few hours at Kapiti and then sailed through Cook Strait *en route* for the Bay of Islands. Before he sailed, however, Captain Lambert issued a notice to the most powerful chiefs on the Island. The document reads as follows:—

His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Alligator*,  
Entree Island, 11 October, 1834.

George Robert Lambert, Captain.

“Two ships of war, belonging to His Majesty King William the Fourth, having arrived on this coast in consequence of the horrid murder of part of the crew of the *Harriet*, the remaining part having been made slaves by the people of Mataroa, Nummo, Taranachee, and Wyamati, and to require the said people to be given up, which has been effected after a most severe punishment inflicted

on the said tribes, by burning their pahs, their property, and killing and wounding many of them; and at the same time to point out to the other tribes that, however much the King of England wishes to cultivate friendship with the New Zealanders, the indignation he will feel at a repetition of such cruelty to his subjects, and how severely he will punish the offenders.

GEO. ROBT. LAMBERT,  
Captain of H.M.S. *Alligator*."

The ship's accounts show that the marines and the seamen of the *Alligator*, while on shore on the occasion of the second fight, expended 1140 musket and 140 pistol ball cartridges, while the soldiers of the 50th regiment used 750 musket ball cartridges and 50 musket flints. In connection with the carronade, 36 Fynmore tubes were used and 1 barrel of powder expended. There was also a long list of muskets, swords, scabbards, belts, boxes, frogs, rammers, and bayonets, lost by the fire in the pa. To make the list of lost articles complete there must be added a ship's anchor, and some material belonging to the carronade, lost on board the colonial schooner.

At the Bay of Islands all the survivors of the *Harriett*, except the carpenter, shipped on board the *Elizabeth*, bound for London.

The publication of the result of this expedition caused a storm of criticism to be levelled against the Administration in London, and in 1837, a Committee was appointed in the House of Commons to consider what measures should be adopted to secure the protection of the Native inhabitants of British Settlements. Before that Committee were put the papers relating to this incident, and evidence was called, with the result that the Committee reported in very strong terms its disapproval of what had been done.

The essence of that report, so far as it relates to this incident, is contained in the following extract:—



“When the chief went down to the crew of the boat, unarmed and unattended; when he exchanged with Guard the usual token of peace, and when they saw him, instead of receiving the promised ransom, seized, dragged to the boat, exposed to violence and a species of torture, and finally shot at and wounded,—it was natural for them to suppose that they had been treacherously dealt with, and this was their construction. This impression may have been confirmed by the burning of their fortification. Again, on the afternoon of the same day on which Mrs. Guard and her children had been restored, their town was cannonaded, and their canoes destroyed by the fire of the vessel. Again, some days after, they see a large body of soldiers landed on their beach: the natives, it appears, declared at once that they did not wish to fight, and that the child would be forthcoming. Soon after the child appeared on the shoulders of a chief, who had, as it seems from Mrs. Guard’s declaration, been her protector; they see the child snatched from him, the chief slain, his body mutilated, and a destructive fire poured upon them from musketry and cannon; and finally, after three days had passed, when the conflict had not been renewed, and when every prisoner had been restored uninjured, they saw two of their villages committed to the flames.

“The impression left with that tribe of savages must have been one of extreme dread of our power, accompanied with one of deep indignation. The Committee cannot refrain from expressing their regret at the transaction, because it may be fatal to many innocent persons; and because it seems calculated to obstruct those measures of benevolence which the legislature designs to native and barbarous tribes.

“It appears to your Committee that those evils might have been avoided if further efforts for negotiation had been made in the first instance.”

Thus ended a most regrettable incident.

While the author was engaged in getting together the threads of the story, nothing occupied his attention more closely than the task of locating the responsibility for the death of the chief upon the proper shoulders. It seemed inconceivable that the shooting could have commenced under any form of military discipline, and the known fact that Guard and his rescued men took part in the engagement suggested that they had allowed their pent up fury to get the better of their judgment and had seized the opportunity, when the last child had been rescued, to wipe off old scores. The author was at last fortunate enough to find material which put the matter beyond doubt. On the return of the expedition to Sydney the inevitable interviews with the members of the ships' companies took place, and these interviews were published in all the five newspapers which circulated in Sydney. The only account published, given by one of the rescued men, thus describes the crisis: —

"The crew of the *Harriett*, finding the child safe, now determined on having ample revenge on the murderers of their shipmates, and there being about 103 natives assembled on the beach, we fired upon them; the soldiers on the hill, supposing that orders had been given for firing, commenced a discharge of musketry upon them; numbers of their dead strewed the beach, the others fled for shelter to their par and to the woods."

The butchery therefore took place through the *Harriett's* men being allowed to have arms in their hands while taking part in the expedition, and, when they saw that the child was secure, taking advantage of that fact to have their revenge. The soldiers were innocent. With the treatment of the Chief in the boat due to the *Harriett* crew, and the butchery of the natives due to the above cause, it is marvellous that it was not brought out in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. The subject seems never to have been dealt with before.

In Appendix C will be found:

(1) Mrs. Guard's description of her captivity, given to a Sydney reporter.

(2) The full text of the *Harriett* sailors' interview.

(3) The carpenter's protest against their treatment on board the *Isabella*.

(4) The terms of an Appeal to the Public for funds to help Mrs. Guard and her children, and the names of some of the contributors.

It only remains to add, as a matter of the greatest interest, that the lad who played such an important part in connection with the first Anglo-Maori war, is, after the lapse of 79 years, still hale and hearty, living at Kekapo, Port Underwood, a spot occupied by the Guard family for nearly 80 years, and not many miles from Te Awaiti, where he was born in 1831. The author will never forget the pleasure he enjoyed of spending a night at Oyster Cove listening to the story of incidents in the life of the veteran himself, and of his father before him, long prior to the veteran's own recollection. Armed, as the author was, with details of these same incidents, got from contemporary Sydney newspapers, he was astonished at the accuracy with which he heard them fall from the lips of one to whom many of them had been passed on by another, and dulled by the passage of 80 long years. It gave an inkling of what could be so passed on when men were specially trained for the purpose.

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Regarding the four chiefs mentioned on p. 119, Mr. W. H. Skinner sent the following note when the chapter was in type:—Quinacke was Koinati, a chief of the Puketapu hapu, closely related to the Nga-motu people at the Sugar Loaves. He died in Queen Charlotte Sound. Hawaree was probably Hawhere, and Hakawaw, Ha' Kawau. Ontere cannot be traced. Natives long ago told me that a chief, Poharama, came back in the *Alligator*. The last might represent him.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### COOK STRAIT, 1835 AND 1836.

The *Cornwallis*, which had been at Cloudy Bay during the 1834 season, reached Sydney on 9th February. All the other Sydney vessels that had been with her had returned by this time, and the *Caroline* had sailed again for the sperm fishery.

The brig *Children*, which had been chartered to load for Otago and get a return flax cargo in other parts, called at Mana Island, and brought away "a small piece of wool," the first "clip" of Mr. Bell from the little flock he had taken down in the *Martha* the previous year. It was claimed at the time—30th June—that this was the first wool imported into Sydney from New Zealand, but that was afterwards proved to be wrong as Captain Clendon had brought up some in the *Fortitude* from the Bay of Islands several months before. It is even open to doubt whether Captain Clendon's cargo was the first. In addition to the *Children*, the *Isabella* visited Cook Strait, and the *Jane* and *Henry* called at Kapiti, and while there learned that there were 10 vessels lying at Cloudy Bay.

The first of the ten to come away from the Bay was the *New Zealander*. She sailed from Cloudy Bay on 10th June and landed her cargo, which consisted of oil from the *Cornwallis* and *Denmark Hill*, in Sydney, on 7th July. Captain Brown of the *Proteus*, who had resigned his command to the chief mate, came up in her as a passenger.

In Cloudy Bay Captain Cole reported:—

The *Caroline*, Cherry, with 80 tuns of oil.

The *Denmark Hill*, Findlay, with 60 tuns of oil.

The *Socrates* of Hobart Town, about 60 tuns of oil.

The *Cornwallis*, with 50 tuns of oil.

The *Proteus*, with 25 tuns of oil.

The *Louisa*, Hayward, with 50 tuns of oil.



The *Charles*, Hawkins, of London.

The *Warren*, of America.

The *Halcyon*, Thomson, of America.

The crews of the *Charles* and the *Halcyon* were in a disorderly state. The *Socrates* had lost her second mate and five of her hands in a dreadful south-east gale. One of the *Proteus*' boats was nearly lost in the same gale and passed the boat's crew of the *Socrates* holding on to the bottom of the capsized boat. No help could be afforded them, however, and when the men of the *Proteus* looked again they were gone.

On 17th September the *Louisa*, with 140 tons, and her leaky consort, the *Denmark Hill*, left Cloudy Bay for Sydney, where they both arrived on 8th October. John Bell and Dr. Rankin came up as passengers in the *Louisa*.

Between the sailing of the *New Zealander* on 10th June, and the *Louisa* and *Denmark Hill* on the 17th September, the *Socrates* had left the Bay, and the *Bee* had arrived. All the vessels had made substantial progress with their cargoes. During these three months the *Caroline* had added 120, the *Proteus* 175, and the *Cornwallis* 70, tuns of oil. The *Charles* was now 26 months out and had 1600 barrels; the *Warren*, 23 months, 300 tuns; and the *Halcyon*, 27 months, 240 tuns.

The *Bee* came up on 22nd October with 108 tuns of oil and 6 tons whalebone consigned to Wright and Long. Captain Robertson reported that on 8th October when he sailed from Cloudy Bay the barque *Lochiel*, bound from Launceston to Leith, put in there for water, all well. The American ship *Halcyon* had been unsuccessful and was on the eve of sailing for Sydney with 84 tuns of oil from the *Proteus*. The *Hind* was loading with the *Caroline*'s oil, and that vessel and the *Proteus* were fitting out for the sperm fishery. The *Cornwallis* was full and was to leave on 15th October. The *Warren* was bound for the sperm whaling. The *Charles* was on the eve of sailing for London after a voyage of 3½ years. The natives still expected compensation for the loss of their

countrymen in the *Shamrock*, and fears were entertained of a disturbance between a hostile tribe and the Europeans. Te Rauparaha had expressed himself anxious to see a British settlement formed there, and was very desirous that a missionary should be sent. Under date 9th October the gangs of R. Jones & Co. at Queen Charlotte Sound were reported to be very successful.

On 26th October the *Halcyon* reached Sydney. There she appears to have excelled herself in supplying "copy" to the press reporters. The captain stated that information had been obtained at Cloudy Bay that the whole of the southern natives had armed themselves and were on the march to the north to seek revenge upon the English and the northern natives in Cloudy Bay and elsewhere, for the depredations which had been committed in 1830 by the brig *Elizabeth*, under Captain Stewart, as well as to obtain satisfaction for the Maoris drowned in the *Shamrock* in Queen Charlotte Sound. The natives were said to be determined to take and destroy everything which came their way. As a result the Europeans were obliged to remove from Cloudy Bay. The whole of the shipping had left but the *Caroline*, *Proteus* and *Hind*, which remained in company for mutual protection, the captains meantime completing their cargoes before they would leave Cloudy Bay deserted by Europeans. The *Proteus* had 270 tuns, the *Caroline* was full, and the *Hind* had a cargo waiting for her. The *Cornwallis* had left the Bay to fish on the coast before returning to Sydney.

The cargo which had been transferred from the *Proteus* to the *Halcyon* to be taken to Sydney caused the latter vessel some trouble. It had arrived in an American bottom and would be subject to the duty of foreign oil when imported into England. There was nothing for it therefore but for the *Halcyon* either to take it back to New Zealand or tranship to another American vessel which would. This latter course was adopted, and the oil put on board the American ship *Chalcedony* to be returned to

New Zealand, as the *Halcyon*, though returning to the United States *viâ* New Zealand, was not proceeding to the whaling grounds.

The *Hind*, Wyatt, sailed from Cloudy Bay on 27th October with Captain Collins, James Campbell and Mr. and Mrs. Thoms on board as passengers. She reached Sydney on 12th November and brought up word that the story of the *Halcyon* was greatly exaggerated. What had happened was that a small party of natives, residing at a distance of several miles from Cloudy Bay, had threatened an attack. It ended, however, in a mere demonstration. The Europeans had not deserted the Bay nor had shipping been prematurely hastened away. The *Proteus* was about to sail on the twenty-seventh when the *Hind* left and the *Nimrod* from Sydney had called in for cargo. The last named, Hepburn, master, reached port on 25th November from Poverty Bay, with 13 casks of oil for Robert Campbell and Co. Mr. Harris came over as a passenger.

On 28th November the brig *Bee* sailed from Sydney for the sperm fishery, Hempleman in command this time. This was the voyage on which Hempleman established a whaling station at Port Cooper and commenced his celebrated "log."

On 5th December the schooner *Success*, Captain Richard Buckle, reached Sydney with 208 casks black oil, 630 packages whalebone, 1 bundle seal skins and 2 spars, consigned to the House of R. Jones & Co. Captain Buckle reported that while at New Zealand he met the schooner *New Zealander*, Cole, filling up at Queen Charlotte Sound on 8th November, the *Jolly Rambler* in Cook Strait on the tenth, and the *Proteus* at Entry Island on the eleventh with 200 tuns of oil. He also reported that an American whaler had put in at Kapiti, and that the *Lord Rodney* had visited the Sound.

The *New Zealander* reached port on 7th December, with 20 tuns oil for R. Jones & Co., 1 bundle of whalebone for Captain Ashmore, and 1 cask seal oil, 2 casks seal skins

and 30 bundles whalebone for J. H. Grose & Co. Her passengers were Mrs. Cole and Mr. Williams.

Tē Rauparaha's name and fame was the cause of many movements in the native population in the vicinity of his home, but the Port Nicholson migration of 1835, and the attempted one of 1836, are the only ones where European assistance was called to their aid. Not long after their punishment for murdering and holding in captivity some of the *Harriett's* crew, the Taranaki natives, forced by pressure from the invader, left their homes at the foot of Mt. Egmont and migrated to the shores of Port Nicholson.

They had no sooner settled here than they found themselves threatened by an even worse enemy in the person of Tē Rauparaha at Kapiti Island, and once more they looked around for a place where they would be free from the presence, not of war, but of warriors stronger than themselves. In looking around their eyes fell upon the Chatham Islands. Its position and capabilities were known to all seamen and many Maoris had formed members of the crews of the vessels which visited it sealing, or in pursuit of the right whale. The next thing to do was to get hold of some vessel, and, as they had had an experience in Taranaki of what happened when the sailors were killed they determined to pay for the services of the vessel they might employ, with what powder, muskets, and potatoes they could spare.

The vessel fortunate enough to be selected for this mission was the brig *Lord Rodney*, which had sailed from Sydney on 1st October, bound for Cook Strait, with stores for several of the stations. Captain Harewood thus describes the experiences of the vessel:—

“We arrived at Entry Island, Cook's Straits, New Zealand, on the 16th of October, after a passage of seventeen days from Sydney; sailed from Entry Island on the 19th, and reached Cloudy Bay on the 21st; started from the latter place on the 25th, and arrived at Port Nicholson on the 26th at noon. The *Caroline*, Cherry, of Sydney, was the only vessel in the port. When the



*Rodney* brought up, the Natives appeared to be remarkably friendly, and anxious to barter for potatoes, hogs, etc. I purchased what I wanted from them, and hearing there was a quantity of whalebone to be purchased about 25 miles from Port Nicholson, on the 30th, sailed for that place. Mr. Dawson, my trading master, having advised me, I took the Head Chief of Port Nicholson, and four other Natives to facilitate the purchase of the whalebone. On reaching the destination, the Natives would not part with the bone, unless I would consent to take them to Chatham Island; there appeared to be a muster of about 300 Natives at this place. Having been unsuccessful in my trip, I ran back to Port Nicholson, the Chief on board ("A-Murry"), saying he would compensate me for the loss of time, by a present of some hogs, etc. The next day after reaching Port Nicholson, "A-Murry" the Chief, sent a number of canoes away, and they shortly returned filled with hogs, &c., also two spars, as a present; there was also a quantity of hogs and potatoes on shore, which the Chief requested me to look at; for this purpose, I left the brig, taking with me a good boat's crew. A short time after landing, I discovered that some of the Natives had taken the boat from my men; I immediately called out for the boat to be brought back, but they refused; one of the Chiefs also told me that the ship was taken, and I should very soon know it. At 11 a.m., Mr. Davis, one of my passengers, was sent on shore by the Natives, to inform me that the ship was in the possession of the New Zealanders, and that there were about 300 of them on board. Mr. Davis also informed me, that they had rushed upon the crew, and tied their hands behind them, saying, they did not want to hurt any one on board, or plunder the ship, but would have the vessel to convey them to Chatham Island, as a tribe of Natives had declared war against those of Port Nicholson, and would massacre the whole of them if they remained. I at once saw that any opposition on my part would perhaps be the means of losing the vessel entirely, or that the affair would end in bloodshed. I

therefore resolved to accede to their demands, and wait an opportunity of recapturing the brig. The Natives were unwilling that I should go off to the vessel at once; I therefore sent a verbal message to the Chief Officer, to run the vessel under the lee side of the Island; this order, however, was not attended to. Shortly afterwards, "A-Murry" came ashore with one of my crew, and requested me to go off to the ship, which I did, the Natives keeping some of my crew ashore until I brought the brig within gun-shot of the place. At 4 p.m., there were about 400 Natives on board, with about 50 canoes alongside the vessel. At dusk, all the natives, except 20 Chiefs, left for the shore. Amongst those on board I discovered "A-Murry" and another Chief, who appeared extremely suspicious whenever I spoke to the crew. On the morning of the 6th November, they brought about 70 tons of seed potatoes on board of their own, making me a present of about 20 hogs; they said they would give me all their powder, muskets, potatoes, hogs, &c., after I had safely landed them on Chatham Island. On the 7th, they employed themselves watering the ship. I remarked that my bowsprit was too bad to proceed to sea with; about 40 of them immediately went in search of a new one, which was brought to the ship next day. The crew, during this time, was employed killing and salting pork the Natives had brought on board. They frequently asked me if the Governor of Port Jackson would be offended at what they had done, not having taken any lives or plundered the vessel; that they were not like the Taranaki tribe, who killed the people belonging to the *Harriet*, Captain Hall. They seemed to be much afraid of a man-of-war coming after them. The wind being contrary, nothing particular occurred up to the 14th, when we had a fair wind for Chatham Island, for which place we weighed anchor at 10 minutes past 5 a.m., with about 300 on board; at 30 minutes past 5, about 600 mustered on the vessel, with about 40 canoes alongside. The whole of them appeared anxious to go (although the crew could not move about

the vessel to work the ship, the Natives were so thick, I ran as far as the Heads and brought up again. About one hundred of them left the ship in the canoes, taking with them as a hostage my second officer, who they promised to retain until I returned for the remainder of them. The wind being favourable, I weighed anchor and proceeded with about five hundred New Zealanders, principally women and children, with only about three tons of water on board. I had previously told them they must do without water for three days, after putting to sea, which they consented to, or any other privation, if they could but get away from Port Nicholson. On the 15th and 16th most of the Natives were sea-sick, and on the 17th the women that had young children were calling out violently for water, when I ordered them to be supplied; the strongest of the men, however, only got water, leaving the women and children without. At 1.30 p.m. saw Chatham Island, when the Natives gave a terrible shout, and the women cried for joy, as is the custom in New Zealand. At 6.30, brought the brig up in the best place I could find, not having any chart of the Island. The Natives immediately commenced landing, and about two hundred of them went ashore. Some Europeans came alongside in a whale-boat, and informed me that the best harbour was about two miles higher up, to which place we made all sail, and at sunset all the Natives, except eight, went on shore. I consulted about making an attempt to get away, and it was agreed to, and at 7.30 p.m. made sail and proceeded to sea; Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Davis being engaged loading muskets the Natives on board overheard them, and made a great noise so that those on shore could hear them; I told them the wind was driving into the harbour, and that I should return to Chatham Island in the morning; they appeared dissatisfied with this statement, and I allowed them to go on shore. The wind blowing fresh from the southward, I had my doubts whether I could work out of the Bay, having to beat to windward against a short cross-head sea for about fifteen miles. After the Natives had left

the brig about five minutes, Murry the Chief and a crew came alongside in the European's boat, and observing they were not armed I allowed the Chief to come on board. I told him I should return in the morning, but he would not believe me. He gave orders for the other Natives to go ashore, and he remained in the vessel. The weather was very squally during the night, and the Chief seemed to be nearly heartbroken. The vessel tacked about the Bay (which is fifteen miles wide) every two hours, until we carried away the square mainsail, main trysail and the jib-boom. With every prospect of the continuance of bad weather, having progressed but six miles during the night, I resolved to run back immediately, and at 7 a.m. brought up again in the harbour. Some of the Natives said they though I had run away with all their seed potatoes, &c., they said they had been crying during the whole of the night, doubting my return to the Island. They immediately commenced taking out their potatoes which they completed about 4 p.m. Several of the New Zealanders expressed themselves much dissatisfied with my going away in the night, and Murry the Chief said that if I had not split my sails, &c. I should not have returned. The 21st and 22nd, it still continued to blow fresh from the southward. On the 23rd the wind blew from the N.W. weighed anchor, when several of the Chiefs came on board, and wished to proceed back to Port Nicholson. When outside I asked Mr. Dawson, my trading master, whether he thought any thing would happen to the mate at Port Nicholson, if we ran direct for Port Jackson. Mr. Dawson having had sixteen years in the New Zealand trade said, that he would certainly be killed if we did not return. I made sail for Port Nicholson, and reached that place on the 20th (?) at 10 p.m. On the next day my second officer came on board, and informed me that the *Jolly Rambler* had been in the harbour during my absence, which the Natives would have taken but she was too small for their purpose. The New Zealanders had also killed several dogs, and hung them up in different directions, for the purpose



as they said of driving the ship back to them. The savages also killed a young girl of about twelve years of age, cut her to pieces, and hung her flesh up to posts in the same manner as the dogs, saying that she was the cause of our detention. It took the Natives all the 27th to talk over what they had seen at Chatham Island, after which they gave me in payment  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons of pork, 41 old muskets, about 360lbs. of powder, one cannonade, a nine-pounder, two fowling-pieces, and about 7 tons of potatoes. On the 30th of November, took in 7 canoes from 35 to 60 feet in length, about four hundred Natives, and proceeded on my second trip to Chatham Island. Having a fair wind all the way, I arrived at 30 minutes past 7, a.m., in the harbour. The Natives immediately disembarked, and took all they had from the brig. I was doubtful whether the New Zealanders would not, as a wind up of the proceedings, plunder the ship, but in this I was agreeably disappointed; although they had certainly made free with many things in the vessel, which I attributed to the negligence of the seamen. On the 5th of December, having completed my forced expedition, I made sail, being accompanied to the Heads with 'the two Chiefs,' who craved tobacco of me; having given them about 20lbs. of the same, they left the brig, since which I have not heard anything of them or their tribe."

The correct name of the chief, described as Murry and A-Murry in the narrative, was Pomare.

The excitement occasioned by the capture of the *Lord Rodney* had hardly died away before the natives in the vicinity of Port Nicholson tried to capture another vessel—the schooner *Active*, under the command of Henry Wishart.

The captain's own account, under date Port Jackson, April 2, 1836, was as follows:—

"The *Active* was becalmed off Waiderippa Bay, afternoon on Monday the 11th of January, 1836. A large canoe filled with natives came off to her, and the principal man (named Warepowre and I mutually recognised each other as acquaintances

formerly of Tarenackie. He wished me to run into the bay and bring up off his pah, as he had a quantity of whalebone to sell; but upon my refusing to go into such an unsafe place he asked me to shew the trade I had on board, and expressed himself so much pleased with it that he proposed sending his canoe ashore to tell his people to bring the bone to the schooner next morning, and remain on board himself, if the vessel would stand to and fro during the night, which was agreed to. Next morning early I stood into the bay, expecting to meet the canoes, and thereby save time; but the wind dying away and none appearing, I let go an anchor about 9 o'clock a.m. Some time after, a number of canoes came in sight from the mouth of a river that runs into the bay, and having come alongside, the vessel was soon crowded with natives—men, women and children. They had no whale-bone with them, having come from their provision grounds, and the bone being at the pah where they wished me to go and look at it, and approve of it before they had the trouble of bringing it off. I however, sent the mate, who soon returned, and reported having seen a considerable quantity of very good bone. I then desired the natives to bring it off and I would buy it; but, after much talk together, they said they did not want trade at present—they wanted a vessel to carry them to Stewart's Island, or elsewhere if that did not please them—that the *Active* would do and that the bone would be given in payment. Some of them then began fathoming the vessel with outstretched arms, and concluded she would carry about two hundred; while others poured water into the guns on deck, and spiked them with wood. In the mean time, Warepowre tried to get my empty water casks, in order to fill them; and several people in canoes kept bringing firewood on board, saying they did not want payment for it, nor would they desist until I ordered it all to be thrown overboard, so that the sea was covered with

driftwood. When I saw the vessel was completely in the power of the natives, and that resistance at the time would be folly, I endeavoured to dissuade them with their project—and apparently with success, one native with them (who had once accompanied me all round New Zealand) saying I spoke the truth when I told them any place they could go to was already occupied by strong tribes, who would kill them all. Much conversation then took place amongst themselves, many arguing against going, until an impudent, ill-looking fellow named Waiderippa got up, and with violent actions said, the captain speaks very well, but as we have taken the vessel we will go somewhere, and if we are not strong we may as well be killed where we go as remain and be killed by the Rowpera. Every one then agreeing with the last speaker, I appeared to be satisfied—told them if they would go after what I had said, that I was ready to take them, for the whalebone; and that as soon as a breeze got up I would go to Port Nicholson, close by, where the vessel could lie in safety, and wait until their provisions were got ready. Warepowre said I had nothing to fear from the weather at that time of the year, and must remain where I was, as everything would be ready next day. He then demanded a white man to be left at Waiderippa until the vessel's return, as a hostage for the safe performance of my word. I refused—and he insisted upon having one; and matters continued in this way until near eight in the evening, when a breeze began to spring up. The women in the interval kept paddling the canoes from the shore to the vessel, bringing long-handled tomahawks and cooked potatoes and fish for the suppers of the men, who meant to lie on board all night. As the breeze freshened I gave orders aloud to man the windlass, to ascertain what lengths the natives would go to detain me; but the crew had only hove a few squares when the women and children were huddled

overboard into the canoes—the alarm was given to the people on shore by whistling shrilly on the fingers—and Warepowre, leaping upon the boat, which was carried on deck, gave the war-cry, and in an instant from eighty to a hundred natives, stripped to the skin, each armed with a tomahawk, commenced the war-dance on deck, yelling hideously, and making the vessel quiver with their violent jumping. The crew upon this pulled up the muskets which they had been provided with when we came upon the coast, from the forecastle, which Warepowre perceiving, called out to me aft, where I remained alone, to stop the men from firing or every one on board would be killed—and some of the natives having begun to cut away the rigging, I went forward and told the crew to put away the muskets. Peace being restored, the natives crowded into the forecastle, so that the crew could not move without being observed, and overpowered if resistance was attempted—taking care also to shake the priming from the muskets. About midnight I began to get sails loosed, and (under various pretences and against great opposition) succeeded in getting most of them set. The vessel soon began to drive outwards, but the natives observing it gave her more cable, and threatened to cut away the other anchor—and some of the most unruly, cut up a ball of spunyarn to tie all hands. Early on Wednesday morning, canoes came alongside with the whalebone, and put it on board. I told Warepowre it was very good, and to send his people ashore to get their potatoes and pork at once, while there was a fair wind that would rattle them where they wished to go in a couple of days. He highly approved of what was said, and sent all ashore but twenty men and women, including himself. I now had more muskets and some cutlasses quietly passed forward through the hold, which was cleared of natives, and when I saw the canoes all beached began to get up the anchor;



for, although the chain had been unshackled the day before, so as to slip it if a chance of escape offered. I felt unwilling to incur such a loss without an effort to save it. Warepowre upon this laid aside his marie (hatchet of green stone) and went forward to see how matters stood, and to keep him quiet as long as possible. I told him I meant to tack about in the bay until his people were ready. He seemed satisfied, and assisted to heave square or two of the windlass, but then went aft again, resumed his marie, and conferred with the others, the result of which seemed to be that resistance was useless. The anchor soon coming up—the sails being already set—the vessel got under weigh with a fine breeze, without our being constrained to use arms against the natives on board. As soon as she was observed by those on shore to be under weigh, two canoes put off after her; but when within musket-shot, finding no signal made by their friends to approach, put back again. When nearly clear of the bay, I demanded the tomahawks from the natives, who quietly surrendered them; and laying the vessel to, had the long boat hoisted out, as I judged the most prudent way to dispose of the captives would be to give them the boat and two oars to go where they chose. I then told them my intentions, and ordered them into her, much to their surprise and satisfaction, especially when I returned their tomahawks, and remunerated them for the bone they had put on board. Just as the boat was cast off from the vessel, Warepowre sprung into the main chains, saying he knew I meant to fire upon the boat, and clung to the chains, until I allowed him to come on board. Perhaps the unmerited clemency he experienced induced him to suppose that he might still persuade me to put into Port Nicholson; but in the evening, when past that place, he was in great dread, lest he should be taken to Port Jackson. Next day, at his earnest entreaty, and being anxious to get rid of

him rather than take him to the different places I had to call at, and where the natives, enemies of his, would be glad to get hold of him, and take him from me by force, I landed him at Queen Charlotte's Sound, amongst his own friends. I may add that Waederippa is an open bay, unapproachable in the winter season, when the southerly winds prevail, and situated between Cape Pattison and Port Nicholson, where the brig *Lord Rodney* was taken possession of by the New Zealanders; that Warepowre and his tribe belonged originally to Tarinackie, on the west coast, which place they deserted after the chastisement the natives there received from the *Alligator* sloop of war, and removing to Waederippa settled there, where they dreaded being destroyed by the Entry Island natives, a numerous people under the Rowpera, and alleged that as the reason of their wishing to remove—a wish which the success the Port Nicholson natives met with in removing to the Chatham Islands no doubt encouraged. I fell in with the *Lord Rodney* at the East Cape, and heard from Captain Harwood an account of her seizure, and he also told me the first vessel that went there was sure to be taken; but I looked upon what he said as one of the stories New Zealand traders indulge in, to prevent others from opposing them; I was even illiberal enough to suppose the seizure of the *Lord Rodney* was fictitious, and under that impression had no hesitation in going amongst the natives there who completely undeceived me on that point. I feel confident that if I had made one trip with natives, a second, probably a third, would have been required of me before all were transported, and that they would have stripped the vessel when they had no further need for her, as they were greatly in want of such things as I had on board."

## CHAPTER IX.

### COOK STRAIT, 1836 AND 1837.

1836.

By 24th January the news of the capture of the *Lord Rodney*, and of the two compulsory expeditions to Chatham Island were brought to Sydney by the *Lord Rodney* herself.

On 16th February the *Harlequin* and the *Success* were at Cook Strait, and on that date the latter sailed for Sydney, leaving the former to sail for the Bay of Islands. It was then stated that the *Halcyon* was engaged conveying natives from Port Nicholson to Chatham Island, which would indicate that after the *Active* had failed them the American captain had put his vessel at the disposal of the emigrants.

Mr. and Mrs. Guard were in Sydney at that time and took advantage of the schooner *Industry* sailing for Cook Strait, on 20th February, to return home with their three children. Amongst the other passengers was Thomas Evans. On 12th April, the *Industry* sailed from Cloudy Bay for Hokianga.

Just at this time Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy were visited by a missionary. The Rev. Mr. White and his wife were proceeding to New Zealand to take up mission work in the North Island, and sailed in the *Martha* from Sydney on 24th March. The *Martha's* route was to call at Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay before sailing up the West Coast of the North Island to Kawhia, Manukau, Kaipara, and Hokianga. This is probably the first missionary visit to Cook Strait and the missionary work which was reported later as visible in Queen Charlotte Sound may have owed something to this visit.

April saw the Sydney merchants making extensive preparations for the bay whaling trade on the New Zealand

coast. Wright and Long purchased the *Governor Bourke* to fit out for sperm and black whaling, and also equipped the *Roslyn Castle* for bay whaling. The *Caroline* was also reported to be getting ready. On 8th April the *Mediterranean Packet* had come up from Otago and was at Cloudy Bay, where she found the Hobart Town whaler, *Marianne*, with 1400 barrels. Captain Sinclair was determined to be early at his post, as whales could hardly be expected for some time yet. At Cloudy Bay most of the *Mediterranean Packet* sailors deserted, after they had plundered the vessel, and concealed themselves until the brig had sailed. It was generally believed that the men had been decoyed ashore by some of the whaling gangs, and as the season wore on this decoying away of the men became a very serious matter.

From 8th April onwards the whalers began to arrive at Cloudy Bay, until Captain Shaw, who had taken down the *Lynx* for a cargo from R. Jones and Co's. stations, found, on 15th June, no less than 18 whaling vessels at anchor in Port Underwood. Of these, 13 were American, while 2 were Tasmanian, 2 English, and 1 French. It was significant that the 3 Sydney boats—the *Elizabeth*, the *Roslyn Castle*, and the *Governor Bourke*—which might have been expected to have the best information about the prospects for the season, had left the Bay, the first going to Port Cooper, and the other two to Chatham Island. Captain Shaw took count of how many whales had been captured, and he gave  $20\frac{1}{2}$  to the 13 American whalers, 6 to the 2 Tasmanian,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  to the 2 English, none to the French vessel, and 1 each to the Sydney whalers which had sailed away. For what might be regarded as the first six weeks of the season there were, therefore, 31 whales to be divided among 21 whalers.

On 9th August, Wright and Long's brig, the *Bee*, which had sailed from Sydney on 21st November, 1835, to cruise for whales and to establish a whaling station at Port Cooper, returned under Captain Parkinson with 66 tuns of black oil, 9 tuns of sperm, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons of



whalebone. She reported the following vessels and cargoes at Port Cooper:—

The *Sisters*, Sparling, 52 tuns and 1 whale alongside.

The *Harriett*, Howe, 35 tuns.

The *Australian*, Rhodes, 4 tuns and 1 whale alongside.

The *Caroline*, Cherry, 50 tuns.

The *Elizabeth*, Fowler, 90 tuns.

The *Nile* (American), 80 tuns.

The *Friendship* (American), 80 tuns.

The *Caroline* had left for Port Nicholson prior to the sailing of the *Bee*, and Captain Parkinson stated that the coast of New Zealand was covered with American whalers several of which were at Otago Harbour.

Outside of the above press record of the movements of the *Bee* we are indebted to "The Piraki Log" for the following:—The *Bee* came to an anchor at Banks Peninsula on 18th February, and as she was in a very leaky state a great deal of attention had to be paid to her to fit her for further voyaging. On 27th March two boats were sent to Akaroa, and they returned on 1st April. The same port was again visited on 7th and 8th April. Potatoes for the gang were purchased from the natives who resided in the upper part of the Harbour. Spars for the shore house were procured from Pigeon Bay on 15th April. The *Friendship* and the *Nile* arrived on 27th April. On the second of the following month the first whale was captured. The *Caroline* arrived on 20th May, and the *Australian* on 15th July. On the 23rd July the shore party left the brig with their try pots. The *Bee* sailed on the twenty-fourth and came to an anchor in Darling Harbour on 9th August.

Though no mention is made of the cove in which the *Bee* anchored, the reader of "The Piraki Log" should note that it was in Port Cooper, and not in Piraki, that the events recorded in the year 1836 took place.

On 23rd August the *Dublin Packet*, under the command of Captain F. Leathart, came up from Cloudy Bay with 75 tuns of black oil, 5 tuns of sperm, and 4 tons of

whalebone. When she sailed from Cloudy Bay on 8th August, there were there 11 American vessels, and the *Cheviot* (English) with 100 barrels, the *Roslyn Castle*, which had returned to the Bay on 13th July, with 100, and the *Mississippi* (French) with 150. The cargo of the *Dublin Packet* was from Captain Duke's Establishment.

On 12th September the *Roslyn Castle* and the *Cheviot* sailed for Kapiti. Six days later the *Australian* reached Cloudy Bay from Port Cooper. She had lost 15 of her crew by desertion and was on the look-out for more men. Later on she sailed for the Bay of Islands.

On 19th August the *Bee* sailed from Sydney back to her gang at Port Cooper. Her log states that she anchored at Kapiti on the twenty-sixth, sailed over to Cloudy Bay on the twenty-eighth, left that port on the thirty-first, and anchored at Port Cooper on 2nd September.

Amongst the manuscripts in the possession of the author is one in the form of an advance note given by the Captain on the wages of one of the seamen. The interesting little document reads as follows:—

£0.10.0 Stg.                      Sydney, 15th Aug. 1836

Three days after the sailing of the Brig *Bee* and providing that Billy Williams be reported to be on board Pay to his order the sum of Ten Shillings, being an advance, and in part of his wages as ordinary seaman on board the said Vessel.

Payable at Mr. Long's Office, George St.

(Written across the face.)

Accepted, Jas. Wright.

By the *Bee*, Long sent the following letter to Hempleman:—

Sydney 17 August.....

Mr. Geo. Hempleman

Sir

We have again dis..... the Brig *Bee* with extra hands & good .....of Stores and necessities for your whaling .....

I trust that the promptitude which you cannot fail of observing we have display'd in sending you our vessel in so short a space of time will have the effect of causing you to use your utmost in returning her to us as soon as possible & with a good cargo.

In future we do not allow the *Bee* to sail away from you with so few hands, in case of a Loss—our policy of insurance would be useless—Eight men, or 7 men & 1 Boy are as small a number of hands you can well furnish her with. We wish you to procure for us to as great an extent as your means will enable you—as many Flags & Spars as possible,—Let these also come up next p. trip of the *Bee*.

We are Sir

Your Obedt Servant

Wm. Long.....

The flags were evidently flagstones. They would be utilised for floors and pathways, and would command a figure for similar uses in Sydney.

The *Bee* was back at Cloudy Bay on 6th November and reached Sydney on 23rd December, with 20 tuns of black oil and 1 ton of whalebone.

Under date 13th September a letter written from Port Cooper, from an agent to a London House concerned in the whole fishery, and sent to New Bedford by the *Nile*, says:—

“The ships at Port Cooper have not done much, but better than the Cloudy Bay ships. The *Elizabeth* has taken 150 tuns, and she was late on the ground. There are three other Sydney ships here, one deserted by her crew, and the others with about 115 tuns each. The season is nearly over in the bays, and I consider the whale and shore parties to have taken this season about twenty thousand barrels (American, French and English ships), in all forty ships and six shore parties. N.B.—A great quantity

of the above oil will not be on the market this eighteen months, as most of the ships will have to remain for the next season."

The writer was evidently connected with the *Elizabeth*. His information about the three Sydney vessels is very interesting, as we know that they were the *Harriett*, Howe, the *Australian*, Rhodes, and the *Caroline*, Cherry, and the vessel deserted by her crew was the *Australian*, which must have sailed for Cloudy Bay within a few days of the letter being written.

From 16th to 25th November, 4 Sydney vessels came up from Cook Strait, loaded with whale oil and bone—the *Governor Bourke*, the *Lynx*, the *Hind*, and the *Dublin Packet*. The total of the oil cargoes amounted to 350 tons. The *Lynx* called at Mana Island and found the *Louisa* there. This vessel had suffered a serious reverse. It appears that there had been a merrymaking on board another Colonial whaler and all hands had imbibed too much, with the result that, on returning to the *Louisa*, the boat was upset and the chief officer and the whole of the crew drowned. All the returning vessels complained of the severity of the weather on the New Zealand coast.

The old trouble of stealing away men had come up again. Captain Bateman, of the English whaler, *Cheviot*, bitterly complained of the conduct of some Sydney men at Cloudy Bay. Many of his seamen had been enticed away from his vessel and conveyed to another part of the Island to strengthen the shore gangs of the unscrupulous offenders. After Captain Bateman had satisfied himself of the facts he took counsel with the other captains in the Bay as to what method of retaliation he should adopt, and, finding that the offence was fairly common, he decided on summary vengeance, and took possession of the boats of the offending parties. Captain Hayward, of the *Louisa*, Captain Robertson, of the *Caroline*, and Captain Neil, of the American whaler, *Navy*, supported Captain Bateman in the steps he took, and all three gave him documentary evidence of their moral support. From what is recorded



in connection with American whaling, it will be seen that Captain Richards, working for Wright and Long of Sydney, was the offending party. That was also the reason, probably why no Sydney captain put his name to paper.

Large as was the quantity of oil brought up from New Zealand, there was still great disappointment felt by those who had been whaling at Cloudy Bay. The preceding years had been so successful at that port that it had been made the general gathering ground of all the whalers who looked to New Zealand for cargoes. There was no doubt that too many vessels went there, but apart from that there were local causes for the comparatively small amount of oil which was obtained. These causes were carefully investigated by Captain Greene, of the *Mediterranean Packet*, and the result of his observations was embodied in a report, of which the following is a copy:—

“1. *Prevalence of South-east Winds*, which in a greater or less degree, prevailed at and contiguous thereto, from May to the latter end of September, and during which Cloudy Bay is a lee shore; therefore shunned, the whales preferring cawing and rearing their young in the more still waters under the lee of the weather shore.

“2. *Scarcity of Whale Food*.—It appears from the report of the oldest resident whalers, that for many seasons the water in the bay has not been so divested of that food which the bountiful hand of Providence was wont to distribute for them in its waters, as during the season alluded to. :

“3. *The great number of Shipping that resorted thereto*.—Nine-tenths of those constituting the number were American, some of whom (as they stated to me) prior to leaving America, were under the impression that having once moored at Cloudy Bay, they would have no further labour devolving on them than to fasten to whales alongside, cut in, try out, and stow away without intermission, until their cargoes would be completed. How different to their former conception it

came to pass! After having had recourse to the same manners as our Colonial and other English whalers thereat, for the lapse of four months and upwards, we departed thence, some having secured but two whales.

“When the spout of a whale would casually come within the scope of vision from the “look out point,” no less than seventy to eighty boats would put off in pursuit. One out of six (on an average) of those seen and pursued in the offing, was fastened to, the monsters generally on the approach of such a multitude of boats, became terrified and effected their escape, by wading their way with all the fleetness they are capable of, beyond the bounds of vision.

“Those ships which visited in the early part of the season the very excellent harbours, situated in Banks’ Peninsula, speedily obtained full cargoes, and those at Otago were pretty successful.

“*Commotions among the Natives.*—At and sometime prior to sailing from Entry Island, the Natriaora tribe were disposed to exercise hostilities towards the shipping at Flat (Mana) Island, also the European residents adjacent thereto.

“The cause of that massacre seems to have originated in the following circumstances:—A Native Chief brought supplies of potatoes, etc., to a barque from the port of Hobart Town (the *Caroline*); the payment offered did not satisfy him; observing a small tomahawk in one of the boats, he took possession of it, judging it and the payment already made, adequate in value to the property delivered.

“On being requested to restore the tomahawk, he declined; a scuffle ensued between the Chief and the first officer of the barque; meanwhile one of the boat’s crew deliberately took a lance, and thrust it through the Chief’s body, immediately under the right breast, of which he shortly died. Intervening this affair and the date of my sailing thence (October 13th), whalers, while cruising in their boats, were repeatedly fired

at by the natives, among whom was Captain Cherry, of the barque *Caroline*, of this port. Fortunately they escaped unhurt.

“*Late state of the weather on the Coast of New Zealand.*—The unprecedented state of westerly weather that prevailed on that coast from the close of September to the 15th of the current month, was truly terrific. Not within the memory of the oldest European residents, has the wind continued so boisterous from the same quarter, for so long a period, without intermission. On our passage from Entry Island towards the Bay of Islands, we had, during its prevalence, the misfortune to carry away our main-top-mast, and split the main-top-sail.”

Shortly after the death of the chief, the *Mediterranean Packet* was at Queen Charlotte Sound and the natives there concocted a scheme for seizing Captain Greene and taking his life as satisfaction for that of the dead chief; the vessel and cargo they were to appropriate to themselves. The scheme was frustrated by a native of another tribe communicating to Captain Greene what the intention was. By daylight next morning—13th October—a few hours before the plot was to be carried out, the anchor was up and the brig away for the Bay of Islands. The cargo which the *Mediterranean Packet* brought up was a mixed one from the stations of W. Long, McGaa & Co., and R. Jones & Co.

The attention of the reader has already been called to the information gathered by the Collector of Customs at Sydney regarding whaling on the New Zealand coast. The portion relating to Cook Strait is now supplied.

Robert Duke, of Macquarie Place, Sydney, informed the Collector that this year—1836—was his first in the black whale fishery. He had 8 boats, 60 Europeans, and 1000 tons of British shipping employed. His total outfit cost him £5000.

R. Campbell, Junr., & Co. reported that they had had no shore whaling establishments for two years past, and

they could not give the exact quantity of oil they had brought up from them, but it amounted, during the preceding four years, to about 600 tons. In addition to that there was about 1200 tons caught at Cloudy Bay by their ships and brought up in them. The boats, men, and transport, were all British, Colonial, or Maori. The firm had three vessels engaged in the trade.

Dealing with the black whaling trade as a whole there were reported to be five establishments at New Zealand, and the number of the vessels, and the cargoes of the preceding four years, were as follows:—

| Date. | No. | Tonnage. | Tons brought up. |
|-------|-----|----------|------------------|
| 1832  | 4   | 336      | 232              |
| 1833  | 8   | 854      | 409              |
| 1834  | 11  | 1319     | 849              |
| 1835  | 14  | 2159     | 1231*            |

The five establishments were probably those of J. Jones (Preservation), G. Weller (Otago), Wright and Long (Kapiti and Port Cooper), R. Jones & Co., and R. Duke.

#### 1837.

The first arrival at the Port of Sydney from Cloudy Bay was the *Martha* with J. W. Harris and T. Ralph as passengers, on 23rd January, and two days afterwards the *Sir David Ogilvy* sailed with a shore whaling party for Queen Charlotte Sound.

The following month—on the 5th—Hempleman sailed in the *Dublin Packet* to establish a whaling station at Piraki in Banks Peninsula. There went with him Mrs. Hempleman, Captain Clayton, Mr. Ward and two whaling gangs. The party reached Piraki on 20th March, and the *Dublin Packet* sailed again on the twenty-seventh. Amongst the manuscripts of the late Mr. Hempleman which the author has been privileged to peruse, is a portion of the Agreement entered into between George Hempleman and the men constituting the gangs. They were “to catch or take the right whale or other marine substances the oil



and bone of which or skins of seals to be considered the property of G. T. Clayton." Desertion or neglect of duty rendered the men liable to a penalty of fifty pounds. The season was to last until 1st November, and a passage was to be found for the men back to Sydney, at Clayton's expense, in October. Amongst the names signing the Agreement are Simon Crawley, Wm. Biers, and others mentioned in Hempleman's log. Captain Leathart, on his road to Sydney, called in at Cloudy Bay on 2nd April, and reached Port Jackson on the twenty-third, with Captain Clayton and Mr. Maughan as passengers.

The length of time taken for the voyage from Sydney to Piraki would indicate that some other place was visited. Time may have been spent in selecting the new station, or in effecting the removal from Port Cooper of the station occupied there the previous year.

The same day that Hempleman sailed for Piraki, a gang sailed in the *Marion Watson* for Kapiti. When they arrived there Captain McPherson found that the Natives of that place, and of the Sound, were proving very troublesome, and had gone so far as to set fire to the dwellings of the shore parties, in retaliation for the death of the chief who had been killed the previous year. During this trip a seaman named Samuel White was drowned by a boat, overloaded with ballast, sinking in seventeen fathoms of water.

Seven days after the Piraki and Kapiti gangs sailed, Blinkinsopp and a gang went down in the brig *Hind* to Cloudy Bay to prepare for the season there.

Mention of Blinkinsopp brings up an interesting decision of the Supreme Court, Sydney, of 1st March, regarding employment in whaling vessels.

"Mr. Barnard signed articles with Captain Brown of the whaler *Proteus*, to go a voyage with him as second mate, for which he was to receive a forty-eight share or lay of the oil procured. When the vessel was going out, Captain Brown informed the ship's crew that it was his intention to promote the chief officer,

Mr. Blenkinsop, to the command of the vessel and leave her himself, which on arrival at New Zealand he did, and from that time to the end of the voyage, Mr. Barnard acted and was always treated as chief officer by Mr. Blenkinsop. On the return of the ship Mr. Barnard claimed the thirtieth lay which is considered the chief mate's share, but Captain Brown would only pay him the forty-eighth lay according to his articles, upon which Barnard commenced the present action to recover the sum of forty-eight pounds, being the difference between the amount paid by Brown and the amount claimed by Barnard. The Acting Chief Justice ruled that the plaintiff must be nonsuited, as he was strictly held by the articles he had signed."

On 19th March Wright and Long sent their brig *Bee* on a round trip from Sydney through Foveaux Strait, calling at Otago (20th April), Port Cooper (3rd May), Cloudy Bay (20th May), and Kapiti (22nd May). She reached Sydney on 30th June with Captain Richards as a passenger, and with a cargo of 10 tuns of black oil, 7ewt. of bone, 15 tons of potatoes, and 100 logs of firewood. Captain Gluvias reported the *Alexander Henry* and the *Henry Freeling*, at Otago; the *Samuel Cunard* at Port Cooper; and the *Caroline*, *Marianne*, *Tuscaloosa*, *Erie*, *Virginia*, and *Thule*, at Cloudy Bay; and the *Louisa* at Entry Island.

The *Alexander Henry* sailed shortly after the *Bee* called in at Otago, and she is reported as at Akaroa on 10th June and Piraki on 16th May. The *Henry Freeling*, which had also been at Otago with the *Alexander Henry*, reached Akaroa on 10th June and found there the *Roslyn Castle*, the *Alexander Henry*, the *Mechanic*, the *Cheviot*, the *Orozimbo*, the *Fame*, and the *Pantheon*. At Port Cooper at the same time, were the *Samuel Cunard*, the *Sisters*, and the *Bowditch*.

On 16th June Captain Hobson visited Cloudy Bay in *H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, for wood and water. His stay was a limited one, as he sailed the next day. The ship's log

ignores the existence of other vessels lying at anchor, but we know, from the log of the *Tuscaloosa*, that that vessel and the *Eric* were whaling there at the time. Captain Hobson had intended calling at Kapiti and Mana Islands, but was prevented by the boisterous nature of the weather from landing at these places. In his report to Governor Bourke at Sydney he mentions Bell's settlement at Mana Island. As a passenger on board the *Rattlesnake*, the venerable Rev. Samuel Marsden returned to Sydney, from his last visit to New Zealand. It is the only occasion on which he visited the South Island, and the author has not, so far, been able to get details of the visit.

In June there were at Cloudy Bay and Kapiti the following vessels:—

The *Fame*, the *Denmark Hill*, the *Marianne*, the *Louisa*, the *Tuscaloosa*, the *Erie*, the *Virginia* of Bremen, and the *Thule*. The *Dublin Packet* had been at Kapiti and had sailed, on the twentieth, for the south.

The brig *Martha*, belonging to McGaa, Breed & Co., left the Bay on 1st August. She had come down from Sydney in nine days, but had met such heavy weather, when returning, that she was driven 1000 miles out of her course and did not reach Sydney until 1st September.

On 15th July, Wright and Long sent down the *Bee* for another cargo of oil. When she called in at Kapiti she found the *Louisa*, Hayward, belonging to Jones & Co., the *Roslyn Castle*, Richards, belonging to Richards & Co., and the *Caroline*, Cherry, belonging to Campbell & Co. The shore whaling establishment of Richards & Co. had done well, having procured about 150 tuns of oil, 100 of which the *Bee* brought up to Sydney on 21st September. The *Louisa* had lost her boats, but had procured others from Captain Hopton, of the *Persian*, a trading vessel which had sailed from Sydney for Valparaiso *viâ* the Bay of Islands, but had been compelled to come to an anchorage at Kapiti, where she remained from 25th August to 7th September, on which date she sailed for her destination *viâ* the Bay of Islands.

J. P. Johnson, who was on board the *Persian*, and who published an account of his travels, states that the natives sold to the whalers, potatoes, turnips, pigs, firewood, mats, models of canoes, and baked heads, for muskets, powder, flints, blankets, shirts, prints, tobacco, pipes, spirits, beads, and axes. at a tariff of one pig, or a basket of potatoes or turnips, or two-thirds of a ton of firewood, for one pound of tobacco. The human heads were the most valuable, and brought at least one blanket. Te Hiko, the Maori chief, used to parade his slaves before the purchaser and sell the head alive, killing the slave and preparing the head in the oven after the bargain for the purchase was completed. Every adult, and every boy of fourteen years and upwards, had a gun of his own. The preference was for flint locks rather than percussion. The natives had a great name for their capacity to dispose of food. They enjoyed the flesh of the calf of the whale, but their principal dish was pork and potatoes, except when a ceremonial visit was made by a neighbouring chief, when the body of a female slave girl was the principal dish.

Mrs. Johnston accompanied her husband, and was a continual source of wonder to the great crowd of Maori women, whose presence on board the ships lying at anchor in the roadstead was sanctioned by the usage and custom of Kapiti, however much it might be condemned by the moral code of civilization.

The *Persian* took from Kapiti large quantities of oil, brought there at £22 and £18 per tun. Although the payment of the sailor was by lay, he was compelled by the terms of his contract to sell the oil at a fixed price, too often little more than half what he could get for it in Sydney.

Continuing the narrative of the Kapiti whaling vessels, we find that the *Dublin Packet* which sailed on the twentieth for Cloudy Bay, had, on her passage to Kapiti, been struck by lightning. On 3rd October, the *Isabella* arrived, and after taking in oil, also sailed south to complete her cargo. She, too, had been struck by lightning and one of her men



had been killed. The lightning struck the main top-gallant masthead, ran down the topmast to the chain peak tye and struck the steward. The poor fellow's clothes were burnt to a cinder, and his body, from neck to heel, on the left side, quite roasted. He hung on for a few days in intense agony, and died at Kapiti before the vessel sailed.

A table of ships' movements at Kapiti will indicate the activity which prevailed there in the oil trade at this date:—

| Arrival.   | Ship.                | Master.  | Departure. |
|------------|----------------------|----------|------------|
| 25th. Aug. | <i>Persian</i>       | Hopton   | 7th Sept.  |
| 19th Sept: | <i>Dublin Packet</i> | Clayton  | 20th Sept. |
|            | <i>Roslyn Castle</i> | Richards | 4th Oct.   |
|            | <i>Marianne</i>      | Mansford | 4th Oct.   |
|            | <i>Isabella</i>      | Maughan  | 6th Oct.   |
|            | <i>Caroline</i>      | Cherry   | 8th Oct.   |
|            | <i>Sea Witch</i>     | Newson   | 12th Oct.  |
|            | <i>Louisa</i>        | Hayward  | 12th Oct.  |
|            | <i>Samuel Cunard</i> |          | 14th Oct.  |
| 12th Oct.  | <i>Bee</i>           | Gluvias  |            |

When the *Dublin Packet* sailed from Kapiti for Cloudy Bay on 20th September, she was evidently bound for Piraki, as Hempleman's log gives us 23rd October as the date when "the schooner" sailed away. Though "The Piraki Log" states that Captain Hempleman, his wife and eight Europeans, were left behind, they were not brought there by the schooner on this visit. Captain and Mrs. Hempleman had sailed from Sydney in the *Dublin Packet* on 5th February, and it is probable that on 23rd October, the schooner was taking away the produce of the station, leaving the captain and his wife there for the off season, as from this time onwards they were to be residents at the Bay.

We have already seen that Captain Clayton was bound by agreement to take the gang back to Sydney in October.

Hempleman tells us that Taiaroa called in at the station on 24th October, and left again for Port Cooper on the thirty-first. On this date, also, came a summons to the

natives to proceed to Cloudy Bay to fight Te Rauparaha. Taiaroa was again a visitor on his return journey, on 18th November. On the fourteenth Hempleman's station was visited by a boat belonging to Queen Charlotte Sound, owned by Jones, and containing a party of Europeans. After staying two days, and after plundering Hempleman of what they could lay their hands on, the boat's crew returned to the Sound.

On 13th October the brig *Martha* sailed from Cloudy Bay with 100 tuns of oil and 12 tons of bone. Captain and Mrs. Guard and the family went up in her to Sydney, and they were accompanied by Mr. Flegg. Captain Maughan left the three American whalers, *Mechanic*, *Chariot*, and *Orozimbo*, and the *Fame*, and *Caroline*, in Port Underwood. On board the last two were cargoes of 50 and 160 tuns respectively. Messrs. McGaa and Co.'s gangs had procured 100 tuns, and Ferguson's 60 tuns, during the season.

This same month H.M.S. *Conway* paid a visit to Kapiti and Cloudy Bay. The author has already had occasion to call attention to the peculiar manner in which the officers of H.M. ships of those days recorded their movements. C. R. Drinkwater Bethune, the commander of the *Conway*, was not so bad as some. He did give some information. He tells us that on 19th October, he observed a brig under Entry Island—the naval men never called it Kapiti—that a boat came from the brig, and that an officer of the brig piloted the *Conway* to an anchorage. Our curiosity to know the name of the pilot, or of the brig, is not satisfied. On the twenty-first the *Conway* left the anchorage, and next morning worked into Cloudy Bay, where the *Caroline* and *Denmark Hill* were anchored. Wood and water were taken on board on the twenty-fourth, and the same day the *Bee* arrived. H.M.S. *Conway* sailed next morning.

The vessels which were anchored in Port Underwood when H.M.S. *Conway* was there did not remain long after she sailed. The *Caroline* sailed for the sperm fishery on 1st November, but, when off Lookers On, on the third,

shipped a heavy sea which stove her bulwarks, broke the staunchions, split the covering boards, and stove all her boats. Badly damaged, she made for Port Levy for repairs. There the *Bee* met her on the seventh, and the same day the *Denmark Hill* was compelled to creep into the same refuge for repairs.

On 7th November the *Roslyn Castle* reached Sydney after an absence of 19 months with what was believed to be the largest cargo of oil which had ever been brought into port—3000 barrels of black oil, 500 of sperm, and 15 tons of whalebone. Large and all as the cargo was it did not prevent the owners, Richards & Co., getting into financial difficulties. William Long, James Wright, and Wm. Richards, Senr., were all associated in the whaling trade on the New Zealand coast under the style of Wright and Long, and Richards & Co., and, under one or other of these designations, owned the *Proteus*, the *Roslyn Castle*, and the *Bee*, and two shore whaling stations at New Zealand.

About a fortnight after the arrival of the *Roslyn Castle* Long and Wright called a meeting of their creditors, and followed it up by assigning the estate to trustees to realise. The proposal was that if 15s. in the £1 were paid inside of two years a general release should be given; dividends were to be paid when 5s. in the £1 was available, and when another 2s. 6d. was to hand. Valuations showed a surplus of about £10,000. The estate of Wm. Richards, Senr., and of Richards & Co. were also brought under trustees.

The first difficulty which arose in the administration was that the sailors had to come in as ordinary creditors, and did not enjoy any prior right of payment of their wages such as sailors in the British merchant service enjoyed. Although it was suggested in the press at the time that the sailors should be paid at once and in full nothing appears to have been done and the omission was responsible for a tragedy.

What is very probably the first paper money made for circulation in the South Island of New Zealand was a £1

note made by Captain Clayton for circulation at his whaling establishment at Queen Charlotte Sound. So far the author has not had an opportunity of seeing one of these interesting pieces of money, but he has the authority of the editorial "we" of the "Sydney Gazette" of 9th September, 1837, that the note was "a neat specimen of workmanship and reflects credit on Mr. R. Clint of George Street who executed it."

As the only advertised sale of a shore whaling station and plant at New Zealand, the advertisement of the Trustees of Wright and Long of the two stations at Kapiti is given.

Wright and Long's Extensive and very  
prosperous Whaling Establishments,  
at Wycatti and Capertee,  
New Zealand.

By Order of the Trustees.

Isaac Simmonds & Co.

Have been instructed by the Trustees of the Estate of  
Messrs. Wright and Long, to sell by Public Auction,  
on Tuesday next, the 28th of November, at 10  
o'clock precisely, on the premises of Mr. W. Long,  
George Street,

The whole of the said Whaling Establishments at New  
Zealand.

At Capertee

One hundred and fifty tuns of casks, more or less.

Five boats, ditto, ditto.

Three coolers, ditto, ditto.

At Wycatti or Entry Island.

Sixty tuns casks, more or less.

Seven Boats, ditto, ditto.

Whaling Gear, &c.

Terms made known at time of sale.

When the *Bee* reached Sydney on 11th December, she had 40 tuns of oil and 2 tons of bone on board. There also came up as passengers a whaling gang of 17 men.



“On Tuesday, Captain Gluvias waited on the owners on shore and was made acquainted with the state of Messrs. Wright and Long’s affairs, and the assignment of all their effects to trustees for the benefit of their creditors. It appears, that during the conversation, Captain Gluvias was informed that the Trustees showed every disposition to satisfy all just claims, as the cases of the *Proteus* and the *Roslyn Castle* instanced. The result was, that as the Captain was going away, he expressed his determination to haul the vessel alongside the wharf of Messrs. Walker the next day (Mr. Thomas Walker being one of the trustees) and discharge her cargo. The cargo, as before stated, consisted of oil and bone. Oil for Mr. Jones; oil and bone for Messrs. Wright and Long, and oil for Mr. M’Gaa. The circumstances that afterwards occurred will be best explained, from stating the case as it appeared before the police. On Thursday, two persons named Abraham Sharing and — Woodhall were placed at the bar of the Police-office, on the charge of constable Edward Sweenie, who stated that about half-past two on Wednesday morning, while on duty at the King’s Wharf, he observed a boat approaching, which he hailed; there were two persons in the boat, but they returned no answer; the constable saw the boat pulling towards Captain Carter’s Wharf he then went round and observing that the boat contained a quantity of whale bone, and a few other articles, he accosted the two persons to know whence they had obtained it at so late an hour; they answered that they received the property from the Captain of the *Bee*; Sweenie not thinking this account satisfactory, took the persons to the watch-house. The next day they were brought before the Magistrates, and the account they then gave of themselves, was such as to induce the bench to discharge them, and grant a warrant for the appre-

hension of Captain Gluvias of the *Bee*. On Friday, Thomas Gluvias, the master, was placed at the bar on a charge of robbing the estate of Messrs. Wright and Long. Mr. E. D. O'Reilly, the solicitor for the trustees, and Mr. A'Beckett appeared to prosecute. The evidence which was very lengthy, amounted to the following:—On Tuesday afternoon Captain Gluvias called upon Mr. Woodhall where he met Sharing, formerly storekeeper to Marsden and Flower, and had some conversation with them respecting the situation in which he was placed; after speaking of the precarious state of the affairs of Messrs. Wright and Long, he said the trustees had guaranteed to pay all just debts, but that assertion would not protect him, it only extended to the sailors whose wages would be paid, but he (the Captain) would have to come in as a creditor; he also said he had property on board, which it would be a pity for him to lose, for the trustees would come on board the next day and seize all, which would be sold; he then requested them to come on board with him and assist in removing his property. Woodhall, in his evidence, stated that in the conversation just alluded to the Captain wished him to assist him in removing some whalebone from the *Bee* to remunerate him for his wages, this, he said, he should acquaint the owners with, and would either give it up or account to them for it, when paid. The three proceeded on board the vessel where they saw the chief officer, James George Bailey, a New Zealander, who requested leave of the Captain to go ashore; Captain Gluvias asked him how long he should be away? The mate said half-an-hour; the Captain replied, it is of no use saying half-an-hour, if you mean to stay two or three hours; Bailey then said, he would stay two hours; Captain Gluvias then remarked, you had better take some of the crew with you to take care of the boat and bring her off.

Bailey said there was only a man and a boy on board who would be required for the watch; but being told by the Captain to take the man, he went forward to him, but returned without him and went ashore by himself. The party then consisting of the Captain, Woodhall and Sharing, went down to the cabin, and had some refreshment, and returned on deck, and the Captain and Woodhall went down the after hatchway with a light to select the whalebone, leaving Sharing on deck. This transaction took place about half-past eight o'clock; the night was very dark. The Captain commenced selecting the bone, but observing a light forward, he then blew out the candle and went on in the dark, and handed up some of the bone. Sharing seeing a boat approaching the vessel, told the Captain, who jumped on deck and threw down the property into the hatchway. After the boat had passed, the Captain again handed up the bone, with which they loaded the boat and the three pulled to Captain Carter's stores, where the property was deposited. They then returned to the vessel to leave the Captain; when there, Gluvias observed I have got some more whalebone, and you may as well not go back empty-handed, he then handed up some more bone, which, with that previously sent ashore, amounted to about half a ton. While the bone was being handed into the boat, Woodhall said, by G—— I'll not take more, he has already got as much as will amount to his wages. Sharing stated that the Captain had previously observed, he would take nothing but what belonged to him. As they were about to leave the vessel, the Captain threw a piece of sailcloth over the whalebone, and asked Sharing if he would like to have a piece of pork, to which he assented and received a few pieces. Before leaving the vessel, Sharing looked at the muskets in the cabin, and observed to the Captain, you may as well let me

have this one, Gluvias said, very well, it will do to shoot pigeons. Sharing and Woodhall then left the Captain aboard and pulled ashore, where they were apprehended as before described. Bailey the mate states, that the bone was shipped at New Zealand by the Captain; some also was shipped at other places; and some of it belonged to the Captain. The Captain urges as his reason for acting with secrecy, that, had the affair got wind with the trustees, his property would have been detained and sold with the rest, and he would, after all his services, have to come in as a creditor, with little benefit to himself. Captain Gluvias declined calling any witnesses, and the case was remanded to Saturday.

On Saturday Captain Gluvias was again brought up. Captain Maughan of the *Isabella*, proved the value of the bone to be about twenty pounds. Mr. O'Reilly stated that he had been to the Custom House, and inspected the entry of the *Bee's* manifest, which stated the cargo to consist of oil and bone part the property of Messrs. Jones, M'Gaa, and Long and Wright; respectively, the whalebone, stated, two tons, was entered as the property of Messrs. Long and Wright. In answer to this the defendant observed, that the quantity of the oil and bone could only be ascertained when the one came to be gauged and the other weighed; he had not entered any of the bone as his own property, as, when he entered this port he expected to have disposed of his portion to his employers. He was then asked if he had anything to say why he should not be committed, on which he requested the case might be postponed till Monday, in order to allow him to consult his counsel, in whose attendance he had been disappointed on the previous day. The case was accordingly postponed. He had already applied to be admitted to bail, which request the



Bench could not comply with, until the examination was concluded.

“After he was remanded, he was removed to one of the cells of the receiving watch-house, where he remained until the female prisoners were brought there, when he was removed to the common strong room. About three o’clock on Saturday afternoon, Mr. Gluvias first appeared unwell, and soon exhibited symptoms of a fit of apoplexy; he was then brought out of the cell and laid down on blankets on the floor of the passage, a constable was dispatched to the nearest medical man (Mr. Campbell residing opposite the Police Office) with a request that he would come and bleed him. The constable (Carroll) saw Mr. C., who said, that he was too much occupied to come over. A gentleman connected with the Police Office also endeavoured to induce him to come over, but without effect. Messages were sent to other medical men residing in the neighbourhood, but none could be met with at home. Information was then sent to the General Hospital, whence a cart was despatched to convey him to that place, and Dr. Robertson remained in attendance to receive him. About half-past seven the cart arrived at the Hospital with Captain Gluvias, who was speechless; every effort was made by copious bleeding, in the arms and temples, to relieve him, but all without effect; he expired about twelve o’clock. His head was subsequently opened by the surgeon and it was found that a rupture of some of the vessels had taken place, producing apoplexy, and causing death. From the appearance of the body and head there was a manifest predisposition to apoplexy, but it appears that it was hastened in the present instance by mental despondency. Since his confinement in the watch house, no one had visited him, and it appears that he was without the means of obtaining the assistance of

counsel; the gentleman to whom he had applied having refused to interfere unless his fee was first sent; Captain Gluvias was at this time without the necessary funds, but attempted to procure a loan of money on his watch, in this he was also disappointed, and his watch detained in the custody of the Police. He never spoke a word after he was remanded on Saturday, until he was seized with apoplexy. An inquest would have been held on the body yesterday, but for the indisposition of Mr. Ryan Brennan, the Coroner, which rendered it necessary to procure the attendance of Mr. Hayward, the Coroner of Paramatta, on whose arrival the Inquest will be held."

The *Bee*, when sold in the bankrupt estate, realised £920.

## CHAPTER X.

### OTAGO TRADE, 1836 AND 1837.

With the end of the year 1835 Jones began to extend his stations and trade operations to other parts of the Otago coastline than Preservation Inlet and the Southern Islands. This obliterates the line of demarcation between the trade of the rival whaling stations of Jones and Weller and suggests a combination of the Otago trade in any continuation of the narrative. The old arrangement of separating Preservation Inlet and Otago Harbour trade will, therefore, be now discontinued.

The close of the year 1835 saw the *Sydney Packet* away at the Preservation Bay station and the *Persian* at the Otago. The latter took away from Otago, on 9th January, a cargo of 130 tuns of oil, and on her arrival at Sydney commenced preparations for her London voyage. Meantime the *Joseph Weller* had been sent down to Otago on 6th January, and took away from there, on 20th April, a cargo of oil and bone. She was now under the command of Captain Gaunson, but this was her last voyage to Otago, for about the middle of March she was sold to Mr. Peacock for the coastal trade of Australia.

The *Sydney Packet* appears to have sailed northward after leaving Jones' station. She secured a return cargo for R. Jones and Co., and brought to Sydney the first intimation of the seizure of the *Active* by the Port Nicholson natives. Captain Bruce issued a warning to shipmasters to be careful in associating with the natives as they were on the move southward.

With the *Persian* loading for England, and the *Joseph Weller* sold, Weller had to make other arrangements for supplying his Otago station. He sent down a cargo of stores in the *Mediterranean Packet* on 2nd March, and, about a fortnight later purchased a brig of 302 tons—

the *Harriett*—for £1500. This vessel had just arrived from China with a cargo of tea. Shortly afterwards the *Sydney Packet* sailed for Preservation Bay, and in April the *Denmark Hill* and the *Harriett* sailed.

Captain Greene of the *Mediterranean Packet* was delighted with the Otago Harbour, both as a resort for whale fishers and a place where good anchorage and plenty of whales could be got. After leaving it he sailed for Cloudy Bay.

On 17th June Captain Bruce returned from his tour of the Otago whaling stations in the *Sydney Packet*. He had met the *Martha*, of Newport, at Preservation, the *Gratitude*, of New Bedford, at Chalky, and on 8th May, the *Ionic*, of Boston, in Foveaux St. Twelve days afterwards he met the *Harriett* at Port William with 30 barrels of sperm oil, and bound for Otago. At the Bluff he met the *Denmark Hill*, with 30 tuns of oil. The *Louisa* had sailed from the Neck, Stewart Island, on 19th January, bound for Chatham Island.

This was the first mention of American vessels at any of the Otago ports. The *Martha* and the *Gratitude* were whalers, and the *Ionic*, a sealer. The *Denmark Hill* and the *Louisa* were Sydney whalers, working quite independent of the shore stations.

On 1st September Captain Bruce returned from the Preservation whaling station in the third trip of the schooner *Sydney Packet*. In addition to his oil cargo he had the following passengers:—Peter Williams, Mrs. Williams, John Ives, Peter Thomson and Garrett Donald. He had found the *Denmark Hill* with 100 tuns, and the *Gratitude* with 150 tuns, at the Bluff on 30th July. At Otago were the *Martha*, the *Columbus*, and one English and one Colonial whaler. The Otago gangs comprised twelve boats' crews, and had secured 100 tuns of oil since the commencement of the season. At the same place a man named George McGuinness, better known as George Macquarie, from having spent a number of years at



Macquarie Island, had been drowned while attempting to secure a boat which had got adrift.

Captain Bruce also reported that when at New Zealand he had observed a great number of cedar logs strewn along the beach, also a 200 gallon water cask, nearly new, and marked "Gordon." At Passage Island the Europeans reported that they had seen a mass of wreckage floating out at sea, and, thinking it was the hull of a vessel, they went out in their boats and brought it in. It turned out to be the poop and bends of a ship about 300 tons nearly new and recently destroyed. A part of the wreck was sent over to the master of the *Gratitude*, who was then at the Bluff, and he expressed the opinion that she was American built. The vessel had been fastened with iron bolts, several hundredweight of which had been burnt out by those who had possession of the wreck. At sea Captain Bruce saw a great quantity of cedar, some of which was branded CFX and marked No. 9 in white paint, quite fresh. The bulk of the timber was seen near the Tortoy River, but other pieces were seen at Patterson River and at Dog Island. Captain Bruce brought to Sydney two of the quarter galley deadlights from the wreck, on which was branded, "Wallace, Leith"—supposed to be the maker's name. From the general appearance of the wreckage it was thought that the vessel must have been in the water about two or three months.

The next vessels to be sent down were the *Nimrod*, by Weller, on 18th September, and the *Sydney Packet* on her fourth trip for the year. The latter spoke the *Denmark Hill* between Preservation Bay and Port Finlay. That vessel had avoided Cloudy Bay and opened up new ground in Foveaux Strait. Although she had only left Sydney on 10th April she returned on 2nd November with no less than 160 tuns of black oil and 15 tons of whalebone. In addition to speaking the *Sydney Packet*, the *Denmark Hill* spoke the *Marion Watson* trading along the coast in August, and the *Gratitude* repairing in Port Finlay.

On 18th November Captain Bruce brought up the schooner *Sydney Packet* with another cargo of black oil and whalebone from Johnny Jones' whaling stations. His passengers were Edward Palmer, James Spencer, and David Burman in the cabin, and James and Peter Davis in the steerage. The distinction of passengers into cabin and steerage was an indication that civilisation was proving superior to the methods of the good old days. Bruce had been to Ruapuke and reported that the brig *Genii* had sailed from there the day before the *Sydney Packet*, with a cargo of 35 tuns of oil.

The crew of the *Sydney Packet* had been badly affected by the influenza before reaching New Zealand and the Natives had threatened to kill the steward for introducing this new disease among them. It had for some time been prevalent at Sydney. So disastrous had the malady proved among the New Zealanders that it was said to have arrested the warlike preparations made in connection with an invasion of the southern natives by Te Rauparaha. Great numbers of those affected by the ailment were said to be lying about half dead.

Five days later the *Genii* brought into port 1000 barrels of black oil, 50 of sperm, and 2 tons of bone, all consigned to R. Duke. She had been at Otago when the *Marion Watson* called there on 10th September. Catlin, after whom the Catlins district in Southern Otago is named, commanded her.

When the *Sydney Packet* left Otago the *Nimrod* was there loading. The American whalers, *Martha* and *Columbus*, had done well at and near Otago, securing in all no less than 3300 barrels, and Weller's gangs had obtained 290 tuns of oil, outside of what had been secured by the *Harriett*. The last named vessel sailed from Otago on 26th October with 199 tuns, and 7 tons of bone, and the *Nimrod*, on 2nd November, with 105 tuns of oil, 10½ tons of whalebone, and a whaling gang of 31 men that had been unlucky in their season's whaling.

It only remains to record that the *Marion Watson* was at the Bluff on 27th August, Otago on 10th September, and Port Cooper seven days later.

It was at this stage that "Johnny" Jones purchased the schooner *Mic Mac*, and sent her down on 6th December under the command of Captain Bruce. By this time Jones' operations in the whaling line had come very much under the public eye, and one of the Sydney papers, speaking of him, said:—"Mr. Jones has from comparatively small means (having a few years since plied as a waterman on the wharf), realised from persevering industry a very handsome competence, he is, we believe a native of the Colony and as such is a credit to his countrymen."

1837.

On 14th January, the American barque *Mechanic* called at Stewart Island, and Captain Doggett landed nine seamen who had been serving on board the brig *Cornwallis*. The *Cornwallis* had been sperm whaling, and had, when going out of Bouka Bay, Solomon Islands, on 1st January, gone on a reef and been wrecked. The *Mechanic*, which was with her at the time, took the shipwrecked men on board and brought them to Sydney, calling *en route* at Stewart Island to land at their homes nine seamen who were natives of that place.

The brig *Mic Mac*, commanded by Bruce, and trading to Jones' stations, came up to Sydney on 4th February with 90 tuns of oil and 119 seal skins. Dr. Stewart and Mrs. Byrne also came up in her as passengers. When Captain Bruce was among them, the New Zealand natives were greatly agitated at the prospect of war with Te Rauparaha. That chief had despatched one of his generals and a strong detachment of warriors to fight the Maoris on the western side of the island, and Bruce reported that the invaded natives had advanced to meet the northern warriors. The Europeans were also in a considerable state of alarm and had packed up their valuables and made preparations to defend themselves.

The *Mic Mac* was now taken off the stations trade and put on to the black whale fishery. Bears took command, and Bruce went back to his old vessel.

The huge cargoes of oil which had come up from Otago during the 1836 season caused a great deal of interest to be manifested in Otago, and in the "Australian" of 20th January, 1837, a writer, A.B., published the following shipping information relative to the Harbour, "famous in point of obtaining right whales":—

"Port Oxley, or Otago, on the east side of the Middle Island of New Zealand, is situated at the S.W. angle of a spacious bay of the same name, and seven miles north of Cape Saunders, in lat.  $45^{\circ} 49'$  S. and long.  $170^{\circ} 25'$  E. The harbour being of no considerable width, and trending north and south between hills of very considerable elevation, renders the distinguishing of the entrance rather difficult to strangers proceeding there from the eastward. The following may therefore prove serviceable to such as may in the course of the whaling season be destined to proceed thereto.

"The entrance to that harbour may be discriminated from the offing by a white sandy beach about a quarter of a mile in length (situated immediately to the north of the headland forming the N.W. side of the entrance), near the middle of which there is a small rock, assuming, at a distance, a conical form, also by a number of oblong cultivated patches at, and adjoining the summit of, the hill forming the S.E. side. Having descried these marks, steer for either, as the then prevailing wind may be, until the interior of the harbour comes to view. Having proceeded thus far, the course should be shaped for the latter mark, and continued until its being approached within a musket shot; then steer along it, maintaining the same distance until brought to bear east by compass; then steer S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. for three quarters of a mile, and anchor in  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .



fathoms low water, spring tides, rather to the southward of mid-channel. A vessel of large draught of water should anchor near the second projecting headland on the southern side, where there is deep water. It may be judicious to observe, that on the N.W. side of the entrance there is a sand spit, which stretches half way across (on the most elevated part of which there reside a number of natives); therefore, plying inwards with adverse winds, the greatest attention should be paid to the lead, so as to tack on the first indication of the water shoaling.

“The tide at Otago runs with very considerable velocity; therefore vessels remaining thereat, for ever so limited a period, should moor, one anchor to the northward, and another to the S.W. High water, full and change, 3h. 30'—rise and fall (unless greatly influenced by winds) 9 feet.

“It is necessary also to observe, that during the prevalence of strong N.E. or easterly winds, the sea at intervals (during the ebb) breaks across the entrance, which would impress a stranger that to enter under those circumstances, would be incurring a great risk; I would, therefore, notice that sufficient depth of water remains, even at low water spring tides, for a vessel of any draught less than 30 feet.

“The whaling season commences at Otago the latter end of March, during which whales are in abundance throughout the bay, and often caught within the harbour. In the vicinity, the flax plant grows luxuriantly, and the fibre is of good quality. Esculents are also abundant, and obtainable at a very low price. Various species of timber grow at, and in the neighbourhood of Otago, which may be purchased from the natives at an extraordinary low price.”

March saw an agitation on foot for a rise in the wages of the sailors, and as soon as the shipowners recovered from the shock, Jones, Weller, and the Cook Strait merchants met and issued the following manifesto which puts the case with more clearness than sympathy for the lot of man before the mast.

“A meeting of the Merchant Shipowners of the Port of Sydney, having been convened this day, to consider the expediency of complying with the demand made by the seamen and labourers usually employed in the outfits of vessels (whalers especially) of four shillings per diem, have on mature consideration of the several reports and statements made, drawn conclusions:—That the demand for increase of wages does not arise from scarcity of seamen or labourers, nor from inadequacy of wages hitherto paid to such men while fitting for the fishery, but from combination on the part of the men which they believe they can carry into effect at this important and busy season of the year.

“That this meeting has great reason to apprehend serious detention to ships of all descriptions in the Port of Sydney outward bound should any advance be acceded on the usual port wages to seamen and lumpers, as the increased wages in port, would increase the already too frequent desertion of seamen, especially those from Europe.

“That this meeting view the conduct of the seamen and labourers in the Port of Sydney, as the acts of a systematic organised body whose intentions are not yet fully developed, but whose object, if accomplished, would materially retard the progressive Advancement of our Colonial marine. Therefore they, the Colonial Shipowners, resolve to adhere to the rate of wages hitherto paid by them, in their outfits or harbour pay, viz.:—three shillings per diem, with full and ample allowance of provisions: and they trust that by all the shipowners

unanimously agreeing to carry this resolution into effect, they will effectually counteract any unjust attempt that may be made to injure the shipping interest of the Port of Sydney. Agreed to by us this 14th day of March, 1837."

|                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| William Richards      | John Jones        |
| Richard Jones         | Robert Duke       |
| R. Campbell, Junr.,   |                   |
| & Co.                 | Thomas Collins    |
| P. D. Mestre          | W. Walker & Co.   |
| George Weller         | Archibald Mossman |
| A. McGaa, Breed & Co. | G. H. Grose       |
| Campbell & Co.        | &c. &c. &c.       |

On 19th March, the *Bee* sailed with stores for the various whaling stations and went *viâ* Foveaux Strait and up the east coast to Cook Strait. She called in at Otago on 20th April and there found the *Alexander Henry*, clean, and the *Henry Freeling*, which had recently been purchased by Mr. Weller, loading up oil at his station for Sydney, from which place she had not long arrived with a whaling gang and a supply of stores.

Captain Bruce made his next trip in the *Sydney Packet* and brought back in her to Sydney, on 25th May, a cargo of 18 tuns of oil, 30cwt. of whalebone, and 1 pack of seal skins. He had sailed from Preservation on 5th May, and on his round trip had found the following whalers:

At Paterson's River, Stewart Island—

The *Gratitude*, New Bedford, a full ship, bound home.

The *Margaret Rait*, St. John's, out 8 months, 800 bar., bound for Bluff.

The *Courier*, Captain Worth, 900 bar., trying out.

At Preservation—

The *Bombay*, London, out 13 months, 250 bar.

The success of the *Denmark Hill* on the Foveaux Strait grounds the previous year had directed the attention of whaling masters to that locality, and after

the Cloudy Bay season was over, and the takings found to be poor compared with those of the southern bays, some of the American vessels made their way south and into Foveaux Strait.

Bruce reported that matters had developed in connection with the Maori disturbance. The Cloudy Bay war party had come overland and fought an engagement near the Bluff, when Te Puoho, their leader, was killed, and a large number were taken prisoners. This is evidently a reference to the fight at Tukurau, on the banks of the Mataura, and gives us material to fix the date of that event with a fair amount of accuracy. It was earlier than 5th May, the date of Bruce's sailing from Preservation, and the author is inclined to think that the mention made by Bruce, on his former visit, that the Natives had advanced to meet the invaders, referred to an expedition from Ruapuke, which ended the invasion at Tukurau. If so, the date of the Tukurau fight can be put down as January, 1837; if not, February or March of that year. The particulars of the expedition do not come within the province of this work, which excludes Maori intertribal contests where no Europeans took part.

On 7th May, or only two days after Bruce had sailed from Preservation, the London whaler *Bombay* had a remarkable escape from destruction. Captain Lawson's log gives us the minutest detail of the accident.

"Fresh winds and clear weather; people employed in bending sails, and making ship snug for whaling. By 9 p.m. the breeze increased; by midnight it blew a hurricane of wind, when the ship drove so as to bring the whole scope of cables ahead. At 1 a.m. the ship's keel struck the rocks, and there remained striking throughout the remaining part of the night, expecting every surge she would bilge herself. At midnight the same weather. Noon, the wind blew with the same violence, there being no possible means of saving the ship until the gale abated. 8 The gale still continued to blow with increased violence. At 3 p.m. the gale



moderated, when two boats from Mr. Palmer's establishment, with that gentleman himself in one of them, came to our assistance at the extreme hazard of their lives, the sea being at the time feather white, in consequence of our signals of distress. With their exertions we succeeded in laying a stream anchor to heave the ship off by. At 4.30 p.m. she came off, but was obliged to slip both cables to save the ship from destruction. Hove the ship up to the stream anchor, cut the stream hawser, and made sail on the ship; beat her up and down the bay during the night, and at 10 a.m. got the ship moored by hawsers to trees on shore, and let go a kedge, with a gun to back it, fast to the remainder of the cable. Sent four boats away to get the anchors, but found it utterly impossible to get near them."

The *Bombay* had sailed from London on 24th January, 1836, and, when the accident happened, had 300 bar. of sperm, 100 of black oil, and 2 tons of whalebone on board. She lost 70 fathoms of chain and 20 of stream cable, 2 bower, and 1 stream anchors.

Not very long after the *Bee* had called in at Otago, the vessels she reported there began to move. The *Alexander Henry* sailed along the coast and was at Akaroa on 10th May, and Piraki six days later. Weller's boat, the *Henry Freeling*, sailed on 31st May, with 30 tuns of oil and some potatoes. The Establishment had secured 100 tuns of oil in all, and the 70 tuns left over were for a vessel to come down from Sydney for. The homeward trip of the *Henry Freeling* was an eventful one of no less than 11 weeks. She made Akaroa on 10th June and appears to have gone on to Port Cooper. Before she reached Sydney she was almost entirely out of provisions and was assisted by the *Earl Stanhope* with meat and biscuit. She made port little better than a wreck, having lost her bowsprit, bulwarks, boats, &c.

The next trip of the *Sydney Packet* was her last. Johnny Jones had commenced a new whaling station at

Moeraki, and Captain Bruce was anchored there on 17th July, when a gale set in so strong that although three anchors were down the vessel broke from them, went ashore, and became a total wreck. She had on board 50 tuns of oil and 7 tons of whalebone, which was all saved but about 30 casks of oil. The insurances totalled £900.

Moeraki is next reported to have been visited on 10th August by the *Lunar*, commanded by Captain Kaley and owned by Mr. Grose, of Sydney.

The *Henry Freeling* reached Sydney on 20th August, and Mr. Weller at once chartered the *Dart* to run down and bring up the balance of the oil at Otago.

It was not until the 17th September that the news of the wreck of the *Sydney Packet* was brought to Sydney and with it came news of misfortune to two of Wright and Long's vessels. The *Proteus* grounded at Moeraki, but was got off without damage; the *Governor Bourke* also went ashore and injured her rudder but was relaunched and sent to Otago for repairs. Tempestuous weather had been experienced all along the coast, but the shore stations had been very successful. "Johnny" Jones had secured 400 tuns of oil, and Mr. Weller, 120.

Five days before the *Bombay* arrived Jones had sent down the *Magnet* to visit his different stations, under the command of Captain Winkworth. The loss of the *Sydney Packet* made Jones short handed for vessels, so he immediately chartered the *Lynx* and sent her down to bring up Captain Bruce and the crew and cargo of the *Sydney Packet*, the immediate requirements of which would be attended to by the *Magnet*. Among the passengers who went down in the *Lynx* were some of Jones' leading men—Jas. Spencer, Wm. Carter, John Wilson, and two New Zealanders. The *Lynx* took 16 days to go down, and on the day of her arrival—22nd October—the *Magnet* sailed for Sydney with Captain Bruce, J. Hughes, Sherat, and McKenzie as passengers, and 100 tuns of oil and 22 tons of whalebone.

Captain Winkworth brought up a great budget of Otago news. The sea had washed over one of Weller's whaling stations, but fortunately the oil had been secured by being carried to higher ground and thus saved. The season on the whole had been very successful. The *Dart* had sailed on 15th October, with 112 barrels of oil and 287 bundles of whalebone, and with Mr. Harding and 19 men of a whaling gang as passengers. The *Lucy Ann* had discharged a full cargo of oil and was fitting for sperm fishery when the *Magnet* left. The *Proteus*, none the worse for her stranding, had 1100 barrels on board, and was coming on to Sydney with her own cargo and 60 tuns of freight. The *Governor Bourke* and the *Isabella* were loading oil for Sydney, for which port the latter sailed on 26th October. When in Foveaux Strait the *Magnet* spoke the *Lynx*, bound for the New River, and the *Lunar*, bound for the sperm fishery. The season's take of oil had been 200 tuns by Weller's gangs.

In October Jones still further increased his fleet by the purchase of the *Genii* for £2000 from Captain Duke, and Weller chartered the *City of Edinburgh* to proceed to New Zealand and load up with oil before sailing for London. The latter sailed for Otago on 21st October, and the former for Preservation Bay on 2nd November.

The bad luck which "Johnny" Jones had experienced in the loss of the *Sydney Packet* still followed him. He lost the *Lynx*, which he had sent to bring up oil from the different gangs along the coast. "The Sydney Monitor" of 23rd December thus describes the disaster:—

"The *Lynx*, Captain J. Gaunson, left Sydney about three months since for New River, New Zealand, to take in a cargo of oil from the whaling establishment of Messrs. Williams and Co. Having taken in 100 tuns of black oil, she commenced her passage down the river for Sydney on 18th November; they got the vessel under weigh about five o'clock in the afternoon, with a light breeze from the North-east. The wind dying away, they were obliged to tow her down with the boat, and succeeded in towing her

about three miles when she took the ground. She got the stream anchor out and hove her off, and came to anchor in mid-channel with the best bower. At four o'clock the wind shifted round to the South-west, and came on to blow very hard, with a heavy sea setting in, which obliged them to get under weigh to run up the river again, so as to get into smooth water. In endeavouring to trip the anchor, it parted, and before they could get any canvass on the vessel, she was on shore, they tried to back her off but without success. Having but one whale boat left, they could not possibly convey an anchor out, the sea being very high; they clued up all the sails, and made all as snug as possible. By this time the sea was making a breach over her, the vessel had shipped a large quantity of water in her hold, and the cargo began to float about. Some of the crew took to the quarter, and some to the rigging. They then cut away the mainmast which fell to leeward, but hung by the lee lanyards, and after two or three bumps against the side started some of the planks, owing to which, she began to fill very fast; this was at day break. At six o'clock Mr. William's (Williams') boat came off to their assistance, although the sea was tremendously high, and succeeded in getting the crew into the boat, and after a great struggle they reached the shore. There are only a few huts at this place, and no provisions to spare. They only saved from the wreck, 1 cask of bread and part of a cask of cook's fat, upon which they subsisted for 8 days, when they started with the whale boat for Stewart Island, where they remained all night, and caught some fish, of which they made a hearty meal. The next morning they started for a place called the Neck, an establishment of Captain Joyce, who received them very kindly and supplied them with every necessary as far as the place would allow, until the *Governor Bourke* was reported off the Bluff by Mr. Palmer, a gentleman, at the time residing on that part of the island. Captain Cotherall agreed to take the Captain and chief officer, Mr. Moss, on board, but said he could not take all the crew, being very short of pro-



visions. The *Governor Bourke* got under way for Sydney the same day, and had a foul wind for two days, in the Straits; during this time they discovered a cask of flour and salt provisions more than they expected. Captain Cotherall again put into the Neck, and took all hands on board, consisting of the Cook and nine seamen. They had again to put into Port William to water the ship, whence they started for Sydney, on the 9th inst., and arrived safe in port on Saturday morning."

In describing the scene of the wreck one Sydney account locates it as "near Mount Missey," which is probably the then name for the hill to the south of the entrance.

On 12th December the schooner *Henry Freeling* arrived from Otago with 30 tuns of oil, 2 tons of bone, 600 baskets of potatoes, and 60 rough spars. Three men belonging to a whaling gang came up as passengers. When she left Otago the *City of Edinburgh*, which had arrived there on 4th November, was the only vessel in port, and she was booked to sail for Sydney on the nineteenth. The *Governor Bourke* had sailed for Sydney *viâ* Foveaux St., and the *Lucy Ann* and the *Alexander Henry* for the sperm fishery. The *City of Edinburgh* got away to sea on the twenty-first with E. Weller, W. Geddis, R. Driscoll and T. Elliot as passengers, and reached her destination on Christmas Day. The *Henry Freeling* was probably the "schooner, Bound to Otago," which the natives, on 9th November, reported at Piraki as being then at Port Cooper.

The last voyage of the *Magnet* for this year was made on 9th December, when there sailed to New Zealand in her, amongst others, Thomas Jones, Mr. Hughes, T. Chaseland and wife, J. Loance and wife, and J. Hoare and wife. The *Genii* brought up 125 tuns of oil for "Johnny" Jones on 21st December. On her return she came *viâ* Cloudy Bay.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE AMERICAN WHALERS, 1834 TO 1837.

1834.

The presence of the *Erie*, the first American vessel to take up bay whaling in the South Island, has already been recorded. She belonged to Newport, Rhode Island, U.S.A., and sailed on her South Pacific whaling voyage in April, 1832. F. Spooner was her commander, but he left the ship at the Society Islands, and the command then devolved upon A. W. Dennis. She is first mentioned as being at Cloudy Bay on 3rd June, 1834, and information regarding her movements from Australian sources is confined to that statement. From Salem, Mass., U.S.A., however, we learn that she was at Cloudy Bay on 20th August with a full cargo of sperm and black oil, and intended to proceed to America, having purchased provisions from the *Bardastre* of Liverpool. On her road home she reached the Bay of Islands on 29th October, and took her departure from there on 27th November. She reached Newport with 200 barrels of sperm and 1800 of black oil, on 11th June, 1835.

1835.

The following year Cloudy Bay was visited by two of the American whaling fleet—the *Warren*, of Warren. Mayhew, commander, and the *Halcyon*. The former had commenced her voyage on 28th September, 1834, and was nine months out when she was first reported at Cloudy Bay. The latter sailed for Sydney at the close of the whaling season, and there spread wild reports of native disturbances at Cloudy Bay. Information regarding her is very difficult to procure, but Starbuck reports a New London whaler of that name, commanded by Thompson, which sailed for the Indian Ocean in November, 1837.

The arrival of the *Eric* at Newport in June gave the New England whalers full information of the capabilities of Cloudy Bay for bay whaling, and several of the vessels, then on the eve of departing for the South Pacific, were booked for the South Island of New Zealand. Some idea of the magnitude of the New Zealand trade in the ports of the New England States may be gathered from the fact that at this early date mails were there advertised for New Zealand. It is not suggested that these mails were advertised for the South Island, they were undoubtedly for the Bay of Islands, the general calling place of the American vessels, but all the vessels by which mails were advertised to go were bound for the black whaling bays of the South Island.

An advertisement, which the author believes to be the earliest known American mail notice for New Zealand, was found by him in the New-Bedford "Mercury" of 20th July, 1835, and reads thus:—

LETTER BAGS.

Ship *Samuel Robertson*, McKenzie, for South Atlantic Ocean and New Zealand, Aug. 5

This notice dates anterior to anything recorded in the interesting little publication on the history of the New Zealand Post Office, prepared by Mr. Robertson, I.S.O.

The information which American whalers gathered in New Zealand waters of the success of bay whaling in Cloudy Bay, and which they gave to the trade on their return to Home ports, produced an invasion of our bays by the American whalers.

1836.

The following will be found to be a fairly accurate description of the distribution of the American whaling fleet over the various whaling grounds of the South Island of New Zealand that year:—

CLOUDY BAY.

| Arrival. | Name.                   | Port from.  | Master.  | Departure. |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------|----------|------------|
|          | <i>Samuel Robertson</i> | New Bedford | M'Kenzie | Oct. 3.    |
|          | <i>Favourite</i>        | Fairhaven   | Bunting  |            |

| Arrival. | Name.                | Port from.      | Master. | Departure. |
|----------|----------------------|-----------------|---------|------------|
| Apr. 22  | <i>Mary Mitchell</i> | Nantucket       | Joy     | Sep. 27    |
| „ 24     | <i>Jasper</i>        | Fairhaven       | Raymond | Oct. 3     |
| „ 24     | <i>Erie</i>          | Newport         | Dennis  | Sep. 27    |
| May 1    | <i>Navy</i>          | Newburyport     | Neil    | July 11    |
| „ 2      | <i>Vermont</i>       | Poughkeepsie    | Topham  | Aug. 22    |
| „ 5      | <i>James Stewart</i> | St. John's N.B. | Gardner | Oct. 3     |
| „ 11     | <i>John Adams</i>    | New Bedford     | Luce    | Sep. 21    |
| „ 22     | <i>Tuscaloosa</i>    | „               | Hussey  | Sep. 16    |
| „ 30     | <i>South Boston</i>  | Fairhaven       | Butler  | Sep. 27    |
| June 4   | <i>Franklin</i>      | Nantucket       | Morton  |            |
| „ 7      | <i>Benjamin Rush</i> | Warren          | Coffin  | Sep. 5     |
| Aug. 2   | <i>Warren</i>        | „               | Mayhew  | Aug. 22    |

## BANKS PENINSULA.

(Port Cooper, and Akaroa.)

|                   |             |         |
|-------------------|-------------|---------|
| <i>Nile</i>       | New Bedford | Townend |
| <i>Friendship</i> | Fairhaven   | West    |
| <i>Warren</i>     | Warren      | Mayhew  |
| <i>Sarah Lee</i>  | Bristol     | Weeks   |

## SOUTHERN PORTS.

(Preservation Inlet, Chalky Bay, Port Findlay, Bluff, and Otago.)

|                  |             |        |
|------------------|-------------|--------|
| <i>Martha</i>    | Newport     | Potter |
| <i>Gratitude</i> | New Bedford | Fisher |
| <i>Columbus</i>  | Fairhaven   | Ellis  |

In connection with the movements of the Cloudy Bay fleet, it should be added that on her departure the *Navy* sailed for Mana Island, where there is evidence of her being as late as 7th October. The dates of departure of the *Favourite* and the *Franklin* cannot be ascertained, but the former was there on 8th August, and the latter on 6th September. The *Warren* only called in at Cloudy Bay: she had sailed from Port Cooper a full ship. For the detailed statements of the movements of the Cloudy Bay fleet, the author is indebted to the logs of the *Mary Mitchell*, the *Jasper*, and the *Tuscaloosa*, the first-named of which



he discovered in the rooms of the Nantucket Historical Society, Nantucket, the second in those of the Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, and the third in the New Bedford Library. The log of the *Mary Mitchell* is a perfect encyclopaedia of information regarding Cloudy Bay whaling, and that portion of it which records her doings while at anchor in Cloudy Bay during the bay whaling season has been deemed worthy of being published as Appendix E.

The *Nile* and the *Friendship* are reported in Hempleman's log as arriving at Port Cooper on 27th April. No further reference being made to them, it is probable that they remained there to fill up with oil, as the *Nile* was at that harbour on 16th September.

The only information regarding the *Sarah Lee* is the report of the *Warren*, on arrival at her destination in the United States, that she left the former in Akaroa Bay on 1st August.

Of the American vessels in the Southern Ports information is somewhat meagre, and is obtained chiefly from Australian sources, through the captains of the vessels attending on the shore whaling parties. The *Martha* was at Preservation Bay when Captain Bruce, of the *Sydney Packet*, arrived there—probably about May. She reported having on board at that time 350 barrels of black oil and 90 of sperm, and she remained at Preservation for three weeks, but not being successful, went on to Otago. In a bay near there she found a very rich spot, where during the season she secured no less than 1700 barrels. The spot selected has not been identified, but American files reported it to be at Hacarurah Bay. This might be taken to indicate Akaroa, but the dates scarcely permit of her being so far from Otago on 25th July. It might be Purakanui. The *Columbus* procured 1600 barrels at Otago, where she was reported to have been on 10th September.

The third American vessel known to have visited the Southern Ports was the *Gratitude*. Captain Bruce reported her at Chalky when he visited that port about May. She

had then 950 barrels of black oil and some elephant, which she had probably secured at Desolation Island, where she had called. She was bound for Otago. On 30th July she was at the Bluff, and evidently did very well there, as later on she was spoken by the *Denmark Hill* repairing damage, and had then secured 2000 barrels. The latest date she was reported from the Bluff was 12th September.

The lists given above account for twenty American vessels engaged in bay whaling in and south of Cook Strait. In addition to these another vessel, the *Halcyon*, had, in the early part of the year, been engaged, so it was reported, conveying Maoris from Port Nicholson to the Chatham Islands.

The proportion of American vessels to the total number of whalers engaged is difficult to ascertain. In a letter from Port Cooper, sent by the *Nile* to New Bedford, and addressed to the agent of a London House concerned in the whaling trade, the writer puts the number of American, English, and French ships, at forty, which would make the American fleet exactly one-half of the total. The major portion of the English ships were from Sydney. In regard to the size of the vessels, the tonnage of seventeen ranged from 235 to 421 tons, the average being 333, which will give a very fair idea of the size of the vessels sent out on whaling voyages from the eastern ports of the United States. Nearly all the American whaling ports were represented, New Bedford, and Fairhaven, with five each, Nantucket, Newport, and Warren, with two each, Newburyport, Poughkeepsie, St. Johns, and Bristol, with one each.

All these vessels took with them some sperm oil, but the oil of the right whale formed by far the larger portion of the cargo. A very large number of the whalers sailed straight from the Bay here recorded to their port of destination in the United States, but some waited for a second year to fill up with oil. To give a better idea of the size of the various vessels, the date of their return, their relative cargoes of black and sperm oil, and the weight of whalebone

taken away, the information has been compiled and set out by the author in tabular form.

| Ship                    | Tons. | Return<br>1837 | Cargoes in Barrels and lbs. |        |        |
|-------------------------|-------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------|--------|
|                         |       |                | Black.                      | Sperm. | Bone.  |
| <i>Nile</i>             | 371   | Feb. 4         | 2400                        | 200    | 21,300 |
| <i>Warren</i>           | 382   | „ 11           | 3000                        | 800    | 30,000 |
| <i>Benjamin Rush</i>    | 374   | „ 11           | 120                         | 1820   |        |
| <i>Favourite</i>        | 293   | Mar. 21        | 1000                        | 240    |        |
| <i>Friendship</i>       | 366   | April 15       |                             | 700    |        |
| <i>Sarah Lee</i>        | 235   | „ 26           | 1700                        | 600    |        |
| <i>Columbus</i>         | 382   | „ 26           | 2100                        | 600    |        |
| <i>Vermont</i>          | 292   | May 12         | 2500                        | 400    |        |
| <i>Martha</i>           |       | „ 31           | 1700                        | 240    |        |
| <i>Franklin</i>         | 246   | June 11        |                             | 750    |        |
| <i>James Stewart</i>    |       | „ 24           | 2740                        | 300    | 31,000 |
| <i>Jasper</i>           | 360   | „ 24           | 1800                        | 250    |        |
| <i>Samuel Robertson</i> | 421   | „ 24           | 3200                        | 200    |        |
| <i>John Adams</i>       | 268   | July 9         | 1750                        | 250    |        |
| <i>Navy</i>             | 356   | „ 15           | 2600                        | 200    | 45,000 |
| <i>South Boston</i>     | 339   | Aug. 10        | 2400                        | 300    |        |
| <i>Gratitude</i>        | 337   | „ 19           | 3100                        | 300    |        |
| <i>Tuscaloosa</i>       | 284   | Dec. 16        | 1870                        | 130    |        |
| 1838                    |       |                |                             |        |        |
| <i>Erie</i>             |       | Jan. 21        | 2600                        | 300    | 17,000 |
| <i>Mary Mitchell</i>    | 354   | May 17         | 1974                        | 596    |        |

Total black oil for 18 vessels, 38,554 barrels or 4819 tons.

The whole of the black oil, if not obtained in the bays of the South Island, was obtained in New Zealand waters, and at £28 per tun makes £134,932 the value of the cargoes of oil of these eighteen vessels in New Zealand waters.

The same principle of remuneration of the men prevailed in the American as in the Australian ships—they were paid by the lay. The following scale, dated New Bedford, September, 1832, was the one adopted by the Americans, particularly by those sailing out of New Bedford, New London, and Nantucket.

|                            | Rank. |     | 500 tons. | 350 tons. | 300 tons. | 150 tons. |
|----------------------------|-------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Captain                    | ...   | ... | 1/20      | 1/15      | 1/12      | 1/8       |
| Chief mate                 | ...   | ... | 1/35      | 1/25      | 1/20      | 1/12      |
| Second „                   | ...   | ... | 1/50      | 1/45      | 1/30      | 1/20      |
| Third „                    | ...   | ... | 1/60      | 1/50      | 1/25      |           |
| Fourth „                   | ...   | ... | 1/70      |           |           |           |
| Boat steerers, Carpenters, |       |     |           |           |           |           |
| Coopers, Blacksmiths       |       |     | 1/110     | 1/100     | 1/75      | 1/40      |
| A.B., Cook and Steward     |       |     | 1/175     | 1/140     | 1/120     | 1/50      |
| Ordinary Seamen            | ...   | ... | 1/200     | 1/175     | 1/150     | 1/65      |
| Crew                       | ...   | ... | 35        | 30        | 22        | 18        |

£29 per ton old measure was allowed for oils; £7 10s. allowed for black oil.

In addition to the fleet of whalers, there appeared in Foveaux Strait a schooner—the *Ionic*—from Boston. Captain Bruce spoke her on 8th May with only 52 skins on board although she had been thirteen months out. Her captain, Clark, transhipped his cargo to the *Selma*, and sailed about the middle of June from the Bay of Islands for California. On her road she called in at the Sandwich Islands, where she remained from the middle of August to about the end of September.

From the logs of the *Mary Mitchell*, and the other American vessels of the Cloudy Bay fleet, a general idea of the 1836 whaling season, from the American side, can be gathered. It is worthy of mention, incidentally, that of the vast fleets of whaling vessels which represented America, Britain, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, the only logs which can now be obtained are those of a small craft called the *Bee*, sailing out of Sydney, and those of the Americans, which can be obtained in great numbers. The author knows of not one other log of all the vast fleets of British whalers which visited our shores up to 1840.

The American whalers were on an entirely different footing to the Sydney and Hobart Town vessels. The latter were near their own headquarters and could come and go at their own convenience, while the former were compelled to make the bay their headquarters for the



whole of the season, and even at the end of it were indebted to the natives for the supply of provisions which were to last them for the years of their voyage. For similar causes the proportion of men who knew and could converse with the Maoris was very much smaller than in the Sydney and Hobart fleets. The Americans had, therefore, to rely to a greater extent on Maori labour, and to be indebted to the services of interpreters. These men were locally called "tonguers." There were two or three such men at Cloudy Bay—Europeans and mostly runaways from ships. Each tonguer had a boat, and had also a number of natives attached to him. On the arrival of a vessel he went on board and canvassed for employment, which consisted of interpreting and furnishing a boat's crew to help to tow the dead whales, and to cut them up. The remuneration for these services was the carcass and tongue of the whale. This would provide about six or eight barrels of oil per whale. The tongue was always left on the carcass under the Cloudy Bay whaling conditions. In "The Piraki Log" the word "tonguer" is suggested as a corruption of the Maori "tonga." This is quite wrong. A tonguer was a man who interpreted and assisted in cutting up and who was paid with the tongue of the whale. Wakefield has fully described his duties; so also has Pitt Johnston.

No sooner was the anchor down in Cloudy Bay than provision had to be made for the season's stay. One of the first things was to arrange for the building of a house ashore, in which to do coopering and to mend boats. Arrangements were made with the chiefs who held power locally delegated to them by Te Rauparaha. Sometimes they were difficult to deal with, but as they were jealous of their patrons leaving them for another part of the Bay, where they would be under another chief's jurisdiction, the ordinary commercial instincts of the parties were responsible for a working tariff, generally of some 100 heads of tobacco. These same chiefs exercised control over the coves, and would, for a consideration like two muskets, give a captain the use of a whole cove for wood and water,

and for landing casks, and would also give him power to exclude others therefrom.

The ships rode at anchor in the many little coves of Port Underwood, and, as they came from the same ports in the United States, and had been long removed from their own country, a custom grew up of parties visiting from the different ships when things were quiet. Some of the captains did not like the riot which this custom brought about, and did their best, by securing isolated anchoring places, to get clear of it altogether.

On board the *Navy* was a doctor, to whom the many casualties of the fleet were taken for treatment.

If the captain desired to man more boats than the number of his crew would permit, recourse was had to the Maori village for able-bodied men accustomed to handle an oar. They were got at what is now known as Tory Channel, at that time not distinguished from Queen Charlotte Sound, but called simply, the Sound. Sometimes the boats, on returning from the Sound, were found to contain more women (called squahs by the Americans) than men. Numbers of these Maori women associated themselves with the crew during the ship's stay in port, and only left when the ship sailed at the end of the season.

The question of labour to man the boats was complicated by the attractions held out on shore to the sailors to abscond and seek other employment. A rum shop ashore was responsible for enticing the men from their work, with the result that they often came on board mad drunk, and either broke the captain's skull, or had their own broken by him. Employment in a shore gang sometimes proved too attractive for the weaker men, and the log of the *Mary Mitchell* records the fact that the fourth mate applied for and obtained employment in Guard's whaling party ashore. As he appears to have been a useless man he was got rid of without any regrets.

There were also charges made against one man associated with Sydney whaling—enticing men from their ships. The Sydney records which mention the fact carefully omit

the name of the accused, but Captain Joy, in his log, gives his name as Richards, the captain of the *Roslyn Castle*.

After arranging the crews, the usual course of procedure was to mate with another vessel. Thereafter the two vessels worked in concert, and, according to rules well recognised, shared between them the whales caught by their two boats.

The day's procedure was for the full number of boats the ship could supply to go out early in the forenoon and scour the Bay for whales. At five they returned with what "fish" they had secured. As many as twenty to twenty-five boats were recorded as being out at one time. The captain generally remained with the vessel and attended to the woodcutting or boat repairing on shore, or the cutting, boiling, or stowing away on board. If by reason of the distance it was impossible to tow the dead whales to the vessel they were anchored. In one case recorded a whale was anchored on Sunday, after having been towed for six miles; on Monday it was found seven miles off, but as only one boat was there it had to be left; on Tuesday there was no appearance of it and with it were lost the anchors, two lines, and six irons. It was no uncommon thing for the anchored whale not to be got in until the third day.

These derelict dead whales were sometimes secured by other vessels, or by shore parties; sometimes they drifted ashore and were taken possession of by the Maoris, who took out the bone and sold it to the whalers. Sometimes the harpoon would draw after the whale was fastened, and the latter would thus be lost.

It was but natural that with whales escaping alive, and getting free when dead, disputes sometimes took place regarding the ownership of a dead "fish." The unwritten law of whaling jurisprudence settled many of the questions, but local conditions sometimes caused even these to be varied. Thus, on one occasion, the captain of the *Mary Mitchell* formally notified the different masters that where he was obliged to cut from a whale on account of his boat being stove in, he would not agree to give up his claim to

the whale. Where a contention took place as to the ownership of the "fish," the dispute generally went to settlement by arbitration. Thus where one of the whales anchored by the *Mary Mitchell* boats was claimed by the *John Adams*, three referees met and awarded the prize to the *Mary Mitchell*.

A popular custom observed in connection with the towing of whales was to take out a bottle of rum and give it to the boat's crew after a heavy drag.

The stove boat question was found to be a very serious one for the Americans. With the help of Maoris to supplement their crews, a whaler could launch five boats to scour the Bay, but boats were getting stove in so often that it was seldom that one at least was not in the hospital undergoing repairs. Whether it was due to the inexperience of the mass of the men engaged cannot be ascertained in the absence of the like information from British and Sydney whalers.

Independence Day was kept with all the honours by the American fleet, much ammunition being expended in the process.

The two nationalities—British and American—appear to have carried on their work side by side without anything in the nature of a rupture. In the quiet waters of the New Zealand bays the Americans sold to the British quantities of whalebone to enable a British certificate to enter it into the Port of London at a lower duty. The ships also helped one another when short of tackle. Captain Joy records having purchased an anchor from an English vessel for 40lbs. of tobacco and a steering oar. The same American captain had, however, a very poor opinion of the crews of British vessels. He had landed on one occasion with some twenty other boats, five of which were English, and he records "the most blackguard language from 5 English boats there sparing no person at all in short I shall ever keep clear of English ships as they have no authority."

In spite of Captain Joy's opinion, a friendly relationship between the two nations was the order of the day, and



when Captain Bateman, of the English whaler *Cheviot*, who had a number of his men enticed away, retaliated by seizing some of the boats of the offending party, Captain Neil, of the American whaler *Navy*, forwarded him the following remarkable justification:—

Ship *Navy* Oct. 7 1836.

Manna.

Dear Sir,—

I received your letter of the 6th instant, and as you request my opinion in writing, tending the loss you sustained by part of your crew deserting you and joining a shore party employed by of Sydney, I am well aware that your men were taken from Cloudy Bay in the barque and to my certain knowledge distressed your ship much. It is my opinion had not these men been enticed from your vessel you would have had double the quantity of oil you now have, your crew being much reduced; but as Captain . . . . . told me there was “no law in New Zealand” I commend you for having taken the boat as part payment for the injury sustained.

I remains dear Sir,

Yours,

FRANCIS NEIL.

An important source of revenue to the natives who lived at the Bay was the supply of food to the whaling fleet. They brought on board fish, turnips, and potatoes, which they sold for their dearly beloved pipe and tobacco, a head of the latter, with a pipe, purchasing fish enough to supply the ship's company for a meal. The employment of the natives in small jobs ashore, and in manning the boats, has already been referred to.

The domestic and sanitary conditions prevailing in the native villages evoked expressions of disgust from the American whaling captain.

“This afternoon I saw with disgust the manner these Natives live or rather exist—in an enclosure containing 9 huts each of which had but one side and

the two ends thatched the other side entirely open some facing one way some another to screen them from the wind in whatever direction it might blow. In one I observed 4 sows 2 with litters of Pigs 2 boars 5 dogs a bitch with 5 large pups Sucking, a woman asleep on a mat another scraping raw potatoes to boil another suckling a young child 2 other women sitting on a mat deliberately picking the vermin from their shoulder mats and the men nearly all asleep on the damp ground with nothing under them but their mats. Accordingly as might be expected tho inured to it from their infancy they all had a bad cold and accompanied with a cough such a miserable set of Natives I never before witnessed and to these disgraces of humanity we must pay tribute in shape of presents! Shame!"

1837.

After the completion of the bay whaling of the 1836 season, the American fleet of whalers separated, the full vessels making for home, and those not yet ready to leave following the whales off the coast.

Of the homeward bound vessels the *Nile* sailed direct from Port Cooper to New Bedford, and negotiated the voyage in 137 days. Generally, however, the whalers made for the Bay of Islands, where were to be obtained first-class provisioning and equipping facilities for the long homeward journey. Some made a call at one or other of the Brazilian ports of Bahia, Pernambuco, St. Catharina, or Rio Janeiro. The *Warren*, the *Martha*, and the *Erie* called in at the first-named port; the *Columbus*, the *Favourite*, and the *Vermont* stopped at Pernambuco; the *Jasper* at St. Catherina; and the *Navy*, the *Mechanic*, and the *Rosalie* at Rio Janeiro.

While on the coast of Brazil, trading was sometimes indulged in. The *Warren* sold 1400 barrels of her oil at Bahia, and the *Rosalie* 2000 at Rio and loaded up with coffee for home.

More whalers sailed from the Bay of Islands than direct from the bays where they had taken the whales, and the great bulk of them relieved the tedium of the long homeward journey by a run ashore in Brazil. The length of the home voyage varied from 90 days in the case of the *James Stewart*, to 137 days in the case of the *Nile*.

Of the whalers recorded as being on the coast in 1836 there appeared there in 1837, the *Gratitude*, the *Erie*, the *Tuscaloosa*, and the *Jasper*. On the other hand we have mentioned for the first time, the *Mechanic* and the *Margaret Rait*, of St. Johns; the *Courier*, the *Orozimbo*, the *Virginia* and the *Julian*, of New Bedford; the *Thule*, of Nantucket; and the *Rosalie* and the *Chariot*, of Warren. There were, therefore, thirteen American whalers recorded as being on the coast during 1837.

The following was the distribution of the whaling fleet on the various bay whaling grounds:—

## CLOUDY BAY.

| Ship.             | Port.       | Master.  | Recorded dates.    |
|-------------------|-------------|----------|--------------------|
| <i>Tuscaloosa</i> | New Bedford | Hussey   | May 6 to July 18   |
| <i>Erie</i>       | Newport     | Dennis   | June 17 to Aug. 1  |
| <i>Thule</i>      | Nantucket   | Coleman  | July 18 to Aug. 1  |
| <i>Virginia</i>   | New Bedford | Krudup   | July 18 to Aug. 24 |
| <i>Orozimbo</i>   | New Bedford | Sherman  | Oct. 13            |
| <i>Chariot</i>    | Warren      | Champlin | Oct. 13            |
| <i>Mechanic</i>   | St. John's  | Cudlip   | Oct. 13            |

## BANKS PENINSULA.

|                 |             |         |                   |
|-----------------|-------------|---------|-------------------|
| <i>Jasper</i>   | Fairhaven   | Raymond | Feb. 18 to Mar. 1 |
| <i>Mechanic</i> | St. John's  | Cudlip  | July              |
| <i>Orozimbo</i> | New Bedford | Sherman | July 7            |

## OTAGO.

|                |        |         |         |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|
| <i>Rosalie</i> | Warren | Pickens | Aug. 17 |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|

## STEWART ISLAND AND FOVEAUX STRAIT.

|                      |             |         |                  |
|----------------------|-------------|---------|------------------|
| <i>Mechanic</i>      | Newport     | Doggett | Jan. 10          |
| <i>Courier</i>       | New Bedford | Worth   | May to Oct. 6    |
| <i>Gratitude</i>     | New Bedford | Fisher  | May              |
| <i>Margaret Rait</i> | St. John's  | ...     | May to Oct. 6    |
| <i>Julian</i>        | New Bedford | Trapp   | Aug. to Sept. 18 |

The above disposition shows that the American whalers had been disappointed with the results at Cloudy Bay the previous season. The *Tuscaloosa* and the *Erie* were the only two which returned to the Bay, and they mated from 11th May onwards. The *Thule* alone put in a first appearance. No other Americans cast anchor at this celebrated station until the *Orozimbo*, the *Chariot*, and the *Mechanic* came up from the Southern bays with good cargoes in their holds towards the end of the season.

The log of the *Tuscaloosa* shows that she came to anchor in Cloudy Bay on 6th May and had her boats out on the bay on the eighth. On the eleventh she mated with the *Erie*, and the first whale of the partnership was killed the following day, which was a Friday. On the Saturday the whale was towed in and cut up, on the Sunday boiling down was commenced, and on Tuesday that process was completed and the cooping done. On 20th May three whales were killed, and another on the twenty-sixth, one on 2nd June, two on the fourth, one on the sixth, one on the eleventh, two on the twelfth, one on the fifteenth. These figures will serve to indicate how often whales were captured when two vessels were acting in concert.

Nothing is said in the log of the *Tuscaloosa* about other ships being in the Bay until 16th June, when it records the arrival of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*. That there were other ships in the vicinity is shown by the fact that the journal of Captain Symond's brother records the fact that while the *Rattlesnake* lay there several whales were killed and that there were no less than 30 boats out manned by Maoris, Englishmen, Americans, and Frenchmen. Beyond the knowledge that the American boats were those of the *Tuscaloosa* and the *Erie* we have no further information.

The entries towards the latter part of the season indicate that comparatively few whales were captured, and the *Tuscaloosa* sailed on 18th July.

Banks Peninsula is only known to have been used by the *Mechanic* and the *Orozimbo*. The captain of the former vessel is given as Doggett, when in Foveaux Strait.



Cudlip, when at Banks Peninsula and in Cloudy Bay, and Pease, on arrival at St. John's. The *Jasper* simply called in for refreshments while whaling along the coast in the early part of the year before leaving for home. Her log records the fact that she was at anchor at Akaroa during the period given.

The information regarding the Otago harbours was brought to New Bedford by the *Courier*, which sailed home from Stewart Island under Captain Worth on 6th October, and reached New Bedford under the command of Captain Crowell on 12th January, 1838, Captain Worth having died when the vessel was eight days out from Stewart Island. In May, the *Courier*, the *Gratitude*, and the *Margaret Rait* were all at the Neck, Stewart Island, but it is probable that they visited the Bluff and other ports during the bay whaling season.

The following are the particulars of the return home of the whalers not already given:—

| Ship.           |     | Tons. | Return.<br>1838. | Cargoes, in barrels and lbs. |        |        |
|-----------------|-----|-------|------------------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
|                 |     |       |                  | Black.                       | Sperm. | Bone.  |
| <i>Courier</i>  | ... | 381   | Jan. 12          | 2550                         | ...    | 26,000 |
| <i>Virginia</i> | ... | 346   | Mar. 24          | 2260                         | 240    | ...    |
| <i>Julian</i>   | ... | 350   | July 25          | 3217                         | ...    | ...    |
| <i>Mechanic</i> | ... | ...   | July 27          | 2860                         | 260    | 27,500 |
| <i>Chariot</i>  | ... | 355   | Sept. 20         |                              |        |        |
| <i>Orozimbo</i> | ... | 588   | Oct. 3           | 3297                         | 305    | ...    |
| 1839.           |     |       |                  |                              |        |        |
| <i>Rosalie</i>  | ... | 323   | May 2            | ...                          | 120    | 10,000 |
| <i>Thule</i>    | ... | 285   | July 19          | 2085                         | 68     | ...    |

No particulars are available of the *Margaret Rait* beyond the fact that she had 2000 barrels on board when at Stewart Island.

The cargoes of the seven vessels ascertained amounted to 18,259 barrels of oil, and from the few cases where the weight of bone has been given it can be seen that 10lbs. of bone went to 1 barrel of black oil.

Of all the American whalers none has a greater interest to New Zealanders than has the *Julian*, of New Bedford,

which "fished" the Foveaux Strait bays during this season. Taking to himself a wife from among the daughters of a Foveaux Strait chief, there was born to Captain Trapp, the commander, a son, who, in the person of the Hon. Tama Parata, M.L.C., represented the South Island in the Parliament of New Zealand for nearly a quarter of a century, and retired to the Legislative Council, from which elevated political station he now sees his former position filled by his son, Charles Parata, M.P. The third generation of this talented and distinguished family is represented by Miss Te Kahureremoa Hinehoukiterangi Parata.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PRESERVATION MANSLAUGHTER TRIAL, 1838.

On 18th January, Captain Edward Palmer was charged before Colonel Wilson, at the Police Office, Sydney, with having killed a lad named Charles Denahan, who had run away from the *Denmark Hill* while she was in Foveaux Strait and had joined the Preservation Inlet whaling station. Palmer was alleged to have beaten the lad with a rope's end because he neglected to look after a boat which had been left in his charge at Look Out Point, with the result that it had drifted among the rocks and got broken to pieces. He was committed for trial. Mr. G. R. Nichols defended Palmer, and bail was allowed, Palmer himself in £500, and two sureties in £250 each.

Before the date fixed for hearing, two of the Crown witnesses—Howard and Perry—left Sydney in the whaling vessel *Pilot*, and, as they were in the house when Denahan was beaten, and it was suggested that they had been smuggled away by the defendant and his partner, the proper conduct of the case was very materially prejudiced. Informations were, therefore, laid against Palmer and Jones for endeavouring to pervert the ends of Justice by keeping these men out of the way. When the case was called on at the Police Court, on 10th May, an adjournment was granted until the seventeenth.

The Supreme Court trial took place on 16th May, and, owing to the position of the parties, was reported at length in the press, and attracted great attention in Sydney. Advantage is taken of the fact that it was never published in New Zealand, where Jones and Palmer afterwards became so well known, to reproduce the trial in full here.

## PRESERVATION MANSLAUGHTER TRIAL 205

SUPREME CRIMINAL COURT.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16.

Before Mr. Justice Burton and a Civil Jury.

Edward Palmer, late of New Zealand and Sydney, oil merchant, a subject of our Lord the late King, and our Lady the Queen, was indicted for manslaughter, in having at Preservation Bay, New Zealand, within the jurisdiction of this Honourable Court, inflicted divers mortal wounds on the head, belly and sides of Charles Denahan, by beating him with a rope on the 14th of June, of which wounds the said Charles Denahan languished until the 4th day of July, when he died.

The Attorney-General briefly opened the case. He said that the prisoner was formerly in partnership with a Mr. John Jones, and had charge of a whaling establishment, their joint property, at New Zealand. In the month of June last, when the offence for which he was then to take his trial was alleged to have taken place, a boy named Denahan, about eighteen or nineteen years of age, was placed in charge of a boat, with directions to keep her off the shore; shortly afterwards a whale hove in sight, and the other people at the establishment went in search of her. and when they came back they found that the boat had been allowed to go on shore, and was smashed to pieces. Palmer then beat the boy so dreadfully, that he became ill, and in a short time died in the greatest agony. Before the boy died he became intolerably offensive from the smell he emitted; in fact he was putrid. After the boy became ill, he believed Palmer did all that he could to recover him by giving him medicine, but upon being spoken to as to the responsibility attached to him if the boy died, he replied that he did not care a d—n, for there was no law could affect him even if he had killed the boy. The learned gentleman said that whatever the result of the case might be, he hoped that this and other trials which had taken place, would have the effect of convincing parties that the Court of this Colony has the same jurisdiction over offences



committed in New Zealand as if they were committed in Sydney. Some of the witnesses examined at the Police Office were absent, and he (the Attorney-General) did not know whether he should be able to give their depositions in evidence, but if he could prove that the parties had been paid to keep out of the way, he would then tender the depositions to the Court, for when it is proved that a prisoner has paid witnesses to go away, the law allows the depositions given before the Magistrates to be taken as evidence. One of the witnesses he intended to call would swear that money had been offered to him, and he did not doubt that he should be able to prove that the others had been sent away through the instrumentality of the prisoner.

JAMES DAVIDSON was then called, when Mr. Foster said, that Davidson having been convicted of felony within the Colony, he objected to his being allowed to give evidence; the Attorney had gone up stairs to procure the record of his conviction, and he must request his Honor to wait a few minutes.

HIS HONOR said, that if the record was produced, it would not help the prisoner; there was a decision of the Court on the subject, by which he was bound, unless the Court should think fit to open the point again, which he did not consider likely; the evidence was admissible.

The witness was then sworn.

JAMES DAVIDSON: In the month of June I was carpenter at the whaling establishment of Jones and Palmer; the *Sydney Packet* used to trade between Sydney and there; I knew Charles Denham or Denahan, a lad about eighteen years of age; he was six weeks or two months there; he told me he was a native of St. Kitts, in the West Indies; Palmer, I believe is a native of the Colony; Denahan is dead; I made his coffin in the middle of July; about a fortnight or better before he died, I was lying in bed, and heard a boy cry out, "For God's sake, Mr. Palmer, do not beat me, and I will work for you for a twelvemonth, until I pay for the boat"; I had heard before that a boat had been smashed; Denahan came in on another boat, about

dusk; I was in a hut close to, but I did not hear Palmer speak; I could hear the rope strike, sometimes as if on the boy, and sometimes on the side of the house; there was a great noise, as if the boy was jumping over the stools and tables to avoid the blows; the boy cried a good deal; Howard was in the house when the boy was beat, and so were Lyons and Perry, and several others, as they told me; they were examined at the Police Office, and I heard them swear they were in the house; I never knew anything to ail the boy before the beating; he was weakly, but he did not complain; the next morning I saw him going towards the boat, walking nearly two double; the next evening the boy was brought back sick; it was the second officer's boat, Mr. Gregory, an Otaheite man; the crew consisted of a white man named Sweeny, Denahan, and New Zealanders; I saw him in bed sick a few days afterwards; he said he was very ill and wished he was dead, as some of the people said he was gammoning; Mr. Palmer used to give him medicine; he told me one day that he had given him an emetic and some jalap, and either half a gallon or a gallon of warm water, and bled him; a day or two after the beating, I went for my eleven o'clock grog, and Mr. Palmer showed me a strop he had beaten him with, and said he would give it to him every day until he either killed or cured him, or beat sense into him; this strop I had used to drag spars out of the bush; at first Mr. Palmer used to say he was shamming, but after ten or twelve days he said that something was the matter, but there was no fear of him; Palmer said to me that Chaseling the chief headsmen, had told him that if the boy died he would be blamed for it, but he said he did not care a d—n, there was no law in New Zealand even if he had killed him, but the beating he had given him would not kill him; before the boy died he smelt so dreadfully that no one could go near him; he complained of pains in his chest; Mr. Palmer told me that Happy Jack, an Otaheite man, wanted to open him to see what he died from, but he would not allow him; he was buried the same day in a rough box made out of

plank; Palmer would not allow me to make a regular coffin, as he said he could not spare the time; when the boy was ill he never told me who beat him; he was a nuisance in the house; Howard, I understand is gone away in the whaling ship *Pilot*, I saw him about six weeks ago; a day or two after he came from New Zealand, Palmer came to me in a house in Sussex Street, and asked me what I intended to do, and said he hoped I would not be so hard as I was at the Police Office; I told him I should, and he asked me what I would take to go out of the way, as I was the only one that was left; Howard and Lyons, he said, were gone, and he did not care about Percy, as he would not hurt him, or he thought he would not hurt him; by this I understood that Percy did not wish to hurt him; he said that Mr. Jones had got them away while he was absent; this was after Palmer had been to New Zealand, when he was bailed out last session; I told him I should remain and give the same evidence that I had given at the Police Office; he said he hoped I would think better of it, and he would give me money to pay my expenses; Howard, I was informed, had sailed that day or the day before; the *Pilot* is a London whaler, and is cruising in the South Seas; Jones called me into a house one day, and Palmer said he hoped I would not be too hard with him, and offered me money; whenever he met me by myself he made the same offer; Palmer said the rope was not big enough to kill the boy; I said it was; it was a 2½ inch rope spliced; Palmer told me that a worm came from the boy, but whether upwards or downwards I cannot say; Jones spoke to me one day about this trial, as we were walking from Mr. Rowe's office, where he had been paying me my wages; I was at the Police Office last week, when a charge was made against Jones; a few days ago Jones told me that if I wanted money for anything he would give it me.

*Cross examined:* The rope Mr. Palmer showed me was a two and a half inch strop; I swear that Palmer took it and said, This is the rope I beat that scoundrel with; I

am sure it was not a month from the day the boy cried out until he died; I often saw the boy at work before; he stooped at his work, but I did not know he was ill in health; I never knew Palmer to give him medicine before; the noise from the beating lasted five or six minutes: I heard no uproar of voices; nothing but the boy; the next morning I saw the boy; I was in the shop, and the boy passed to the boats; he was walking with his head bent to the ground; he was carrying nothing; Palmer did not tell me he gave the boy wine and fowls, but I saw him take something in a tumbler which he said was wine; there is no doubt that Palmer attended him until he died; the smell was so offensive that no one would go near him, and Mr. Palmer made him a bed in the Mowries' (natives) place; it is generally very bad weather there; towards the latter end the boy appeared deranged; I know a fish called mutton fish, which is much eaten by the men, but I never heard of its being unwholesome or producing worms; I never found any bad effects from it; there was a man name Graham, Palmer's boat steerer, who was ill, and Palmer attended him; the conversation between me and Palmer that I had alluded to, took place in a lane in Sussex Street; a man dressed like a sailor came into the house I was lodging in, and said I was wanted, and I went out and saw it was Palmer, who was dressed in a pea jacket, and glazed hat; he had returned from New Zealand two or three days before; he said I was the only one could hurt him as the others were gone; he repeatedly spoke to me but nobody heard us, he was too good a judge for that; I never said to Palmer, Jones, or anybody else that if I could get any money I would go away; nor anything like it; I never asked Palmer how much he would give; I suppose Palmer renewed the conversation so often because he considered the money would be a temptation; I told Mr. Fisher of this because Palmer began to bounce me and said he did not care a d—n for me as he had plenty of witness that would fix me; Howard had not gone when Palmer arrived from New Zealand; about ten years ago I was convicted of cattle



stealing and sent to Moreton Bay; I never had any quarrel with Palmer about a woman; I heard the last time he was in New Zealand he had persuaded a chief to kill a woman that I had, in order to be revenged on me; but when I spoke to Palmer he denied it, and from what I heard I believed him.

*Re-examined:* This case was to have come on last week; and the night before Palmer was to have been tried, he attempted to tamper with me; I was convicted in 1827; in consequence of my good conduct I received a pardon in 1832; I was in no trouble before or since.

*By the Court:* The strop was made for the purpose of taking a couple of turns round a log; the length of the bight was about three-quarters of a yard.

THOMAS ASHWELL: In the month of June last I was cooper at Jones and Palmer's establishment at New Zealand; I knew Charles Denahan; I recollect hearing a noise, I cannot say exactly what it was as there is generally a noise with the Mowries dancing and singing; I cannot recollect one single word that I heard; I heard a singing out; I heard Mr. Palmer's voice, and the boy's, but I cannot recollect what he said; I was in bed alongside of Davidson; I daresay the noise lasted about ten minutes; the next morning Palmer said he had given the boy a rope's-ending for losing the boat; the boy always appeared to me to be sickly; before that he never took to his bed; he was out in one of the boats the next day; I gave him some soup and eggs afterwards and some sugar; he was always a terrible boy for sugar; he complained of a gnawing in his stomach; worms came from his nose and mouth; he lived six weeks after he got the beating; worms about six inches long and about the size of that pen used to come from his nose and mouth; he used to say that he felt as if his inside was being gnawed away, Mr. Palmer said the boy had an inward complaint; before the beating I never heard him complain; I saw Mr. Palmer here after he came back from New Zealand; he told me that I must be on the trial; he

asked me where Howard and the others were, but I could not tell; he might have said they were gone, and I might have said I did not know; I got money from Mr. Jones for labour; he still owes me £4; when we came up from New Zealand accounts were cleared up; this was nearly four months ago; when at New Zealand I had £6 10s. per month; I have been working piece work, packing and making casks; the price is 3s. 8d. per tun for packing and 16s. for making; I have heard that Lyons and Howard are gone away; I never heard anyone upbraid Palmer with the boy's death; Palmer never said anything to me about beating the boy; Palmer never said anything to me that would induce me to think that he knew what the boy died from; the night the boy was rope's-ended he got a change of linen from Palmer; I heard that he got a Scotch cap and some more things; a night or two before he died he was in our hut, and the carpenter told him to go home; after his death a Scotchman named John washed the body, and he told me this morning that there were no marks of violence on the body; I was at New Zealand three months after the boy's death, but he never told me he washed him; this man came up from New Zealand with Palmer and lodges with me at Thornton's; the boy complained to me of nothing but that he was bad inwardly, and had a gnawing at his stomach; he might have said it was the worms.

*Cross-examined:* I have never been paid by Jones for the work that I have done; when we get plenty of work, coopering is a profitable employment; Howard and Lyons are sailors, and such men are usually most anxious to go to sea when they get a chance of good employment; the boy was only at New Zealand about two months or two months and a half; he always walked stooping; there is a fish called the mutton fish, which if eaten raw is very hurtful; I have heard the men blame the boy for eating too many; they are a large shell fish; it was four or five days after receiving the correction that he was taken ill; Palmer used to give him wine and fowls and nourishing things; up to the time of his death he used to go about of

a night; it was very wet weather; he never told me about being beaten; there were no marks upon his face.

*By the Court:* There was a kind of corruption came from his inside when he used to spit out; his breath smelt horribly; he was not in a state of salivation; I often saw him strip to wash before he was beaten, he was a thin delicate boy, and had a hollow belly; I saw the boy spit white worms out of his mouth; I did not live in the hut with him and cannot say what sort of an appetite he had.

*DAVIDSON recalled by the Attorney General:* I never heard that Denahan was washed before he was put into the coffin; I was repairing a boat at the time; Scotch Jack and Howard put him into the coffin; they never told me they had washed him.

*By the Court:* He smelt as if he was putrid, I never felt a whale that had been dead a month smell worse; I cannot say whether it was his breath or his body that smelt.

*By Prisoner's Counsel:* I do not believe it was a month between the beating and the death.

*MR. JOHN JONES:* Last year the prisoner was in partnership with me, but in January last I gave him £2000 to withdraw; the first time that I heard there was such a person as Denahan was at the Police Office; since then Palmer told me that a person of that name died; I heard some people examined, I do not know what became of them; I know Howard was one of them; I saw him at the end of March or the beginning of April; Palmer was then gone to New Zealand to bring up his witnesses; I did not speak to him; on the 26th March I paid him what was coming to him; I gave him £3 7s., which was all the cash I had in the house, and a note for £1 payable three days after the barque *Pilot* left the Colony; it was not provided that he should go in the *Pilot*; his landlord (Grady) told me he was going away and wanted to buy some things, and a note would do, and at the suggestion I wrote the note; I did not wish Howard to leave the Colony, and would rather than £5000 that he had stopped; I was aware that he was

a principal witness in this case; I paid Lyons in January, there was no dispute with him; Percy sued Mr. Palmer through the Court of Requests, and I paid the money into Court; I gave a man named Owen, who came up in the *Magnet*, a similar note; it never struck me that giving the note to Howard would look suspicious; on Thursday last I was behind the watch-house here, when Davidson spoke to me and told me that he did not think Palmer would let it come to this, and that if Palmer had given him a small sum of money he would have kept out of the way; the next day Palmer told me that Davidson had applied to him for some money, and I advised him by no means to give him any; the day Palmer left the colony we had a quarrel, and I was nearly bringing him out of the vessel; I do not think we have had twenty words at one time since Palmer was committed; I gave the note up at the Police Office of my own accord; I was summoned there to answer a charge of keeping the witnesses out of the way; I do not know how Howard was living from the time he came from New Zealand until I gave him the money in March; I was surprised that Howard did not come for his money, but he claimed money for grog for sixty days at 9d. per day which I refused, and as I would not give him that he would not take any; there was £13 6s. 10d. due to Howard when he came from New Zealand.

*Cross-examined:* When I settled with Palmer I was to pay and receive all, and Palmer had nothing to do with it; he could not know how I settled with Howard; I gave him his note because I did not wish to give a Promissory Note for so small a sum; when Davidson spoke to me about keeping out of the way, I threatened to prosecute him, and the next day I heard from the Crown Office.

*By the Court:* I paid Palmer his £2000 in January; I gave him £500 in cash, and an acknowledgement that I owed him £1500, to be paid on the arrival of the *Mic Mac* brig, now on a sperm whaling voyage; I had purchased the *Caroline* from Messrs. Campbell & Co., and had made several large payments, and not having my bank-book with



me. I did not know whether or not I had overdrawn, and therefore I did not like to give a cheque; whether Howard sailed in the *Pilot* or not, the note was payable; Palmer had not arrived at New Zealand at that time.

HENRY O'GRADY, Lodging house keeper: Howard lived with me four or five weeks; he left me about a fortnight before he left the Colony; him and a man named Perry mentioned that they were witnesses in this case; I went with Howard when he signed in the *Pilot*; that evening I went to Mr. Jones, and as he was not at home called the next day; Perry left the colony in the same ship; I asked Mr. Jones to pay Howard's wages, and he said he was willing to pay him the lay of the oil and bone, but he would not pay for the grog; I told Mr. Jones that Howard was going in the *Pilot*, and showed him the advance note; Mr. Jones gave him £3 7s. in money, which was all the money he had in the house; I knew Howard was to appear here; all that I said to Mr. Jones was, that if he gave Howard a note it would do as well; he gave a note payable three days after the sailing of the *Pilot* without a proviso that Howard was to sail; I have no acquaintance with Mr. Palmer, but I have seen him.

*Cross-examined*: I was anxious to get my money from Howard, and therefore called on Mr. Jones; Mr. Jones would have paid before, if the man would take the £13 7s.; the day before we called on Jones Howard had entered on board the *Pilot*; it was my suggestion to Jones to give the note; Davidson often came to my place to see the other men; I heard Davidson say that if he got a little money he would go out of the way; my wife heard it; I swore this at the Police Office, and my wife was sent for, and without any communication with me she corroborated what I had said.

*By the Court*: Howard owed me £3 18s.; he had been working on board ship, and sometimes paid me ten shillings and sometimes more; I do not know why he did not go to sea; I am frequently applied to by captains for sailors; about the 23rd or 24th March I asked

Howard to go to sea; Perry had shipped, and the captain asked me if I had any more hands, and I said I had, and supplied him with Howard, and two men named Turner and Wild; Howard had an offer to go to South Australia, but could not get enough wages; he had no offer for a long voyage before the *Pilot* that I am aware of; as soon as Howard landed from the ship after receiving the advance note, he gave it to me; I showed it to Jones; Howard wanted clothes, and if Jones had not paid him, he would not have been able to pay me; Jones's note was good whether Howard went in the *Pilot* or not; no one induced me to persuade him to leave the colony. I know nothing of any one else having done so.

*By the Attorney-General:* Davidson told me that if he got a little money he would leave the colony; he said the other two witnesses had gone away, and he did not like to stop; nothing was said about their being induced to leave the colony, to my knowledge; I have kept a lodging-house since I left the Black Dog six or seven years ago; Davidson began by saying that it was no use for him to be wasting his time as he could be earning seven shillings a day, and was only getting two and eightpence a day from the crown, and if he got a little money he would go out of the way; I did not know the nature of the charge I was to be examined upon, when I was sent for to the Police Office; this is the note Jones gave to Howard, and which Howard endorsed in my presence; I got Mr. Lee to cash both notes for Howard; when Howard handed me the £5 advance note, I was overpaid the £3 18s., but I wanted to get him some clothes and therefore went with him to Jones.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that on this evidence he could not put in the depositions, and must close his case. He had requested Dr. Robertson to be in attendance in order that, as no surgeon saw the body, the court might examine him if it thought fit.

HIS HONOR said, that it was for the Attorney General to call any witnesses he thought proper. He was to try

the case on the evidence presented to him, and he did not think he would be justified in calling witnesses.

Mr. A'BECKETT submitted that the case must be withdrawn from the Jury, as there was not the slightest evidence of the cause of death, or even that Palmer had actually struck the boy at all.

HIS HONOUR said there was some evidence, and he must leave the case to the Jury.

The prisoner in his defence said that the whole case was framed in spite and malice because he would not pay Davidson and some others all the wages they claimed. He did not deny beating the boy, but so far from having beaten him cruelly he had always acted like a father to him.

Under the advice of his counsel Mr. Palmer called no witnesses.

Mr. JUSTICE BURTON said that it was necessary that the jury should be satisfied that Palmer had beaten the boy, and that the effects of that beating caused his death; and it was the duty of the prosecutor to produce such evidence as would convince not only the jury but every person of discernment that heard it, that the prisoner was guilty. The case rested entirely on the evidence of Davidson, for the evidence of the other witness Ashwell carried the case no further, and even Davidson was in another hut, but from what he said that he heard it might be presumed that the prisoner was beating Denahan. An important feature in the case was, that in all the conversations which Davidson had with the prisoner, he never denied beating the boy, but always said that he had not given him such a beating as would cause death, and that after the beating it would appear that he treated him well. Unfortunately the witnesses that saw the beating inflicted were out of the way under circumstances certainly open to suspicion; it was as important for the character of the prisoner, if innocent, that they should be present to exonerate him, as it was for public justice, that they should be here if he was guilty. From the evidence that had been

adduced, there was no proof that the boy when ill ever complained of the beating, while it was alleged that there were no external marks on his person after death. The prisoner in his defence alleged that the charge was made from malice, and unhappily those who sat in that Court were aware that people were to be found wicked enough to revenge themselves for any real or supposed injury, but nothing had been shewn to make the jury believe that Davidson had been actuated by such motives. His Honor here commented upon the suspicious circumstances attending the manner in which Howard left the Colony, and if the jury believed that he was sent away by Palmer's suggestion, it would show that Palmer was afraid of his evidence; if, on the other hand, they considered that Davidson had made up the story respecting the bribe being offered to him, of course it so far impeached the other parts of his testimony that the jury could not convict on his evidence.

The jury, after an absence of half an hour, returned a verdict of not guilty.

As soon as the jury had returned their verdict, Mr. A'Beckett said he had been instructed to ask His Honor to commit Davidson to take his trial for perjury.

HIS HONOR asked on what grounds?

Mr. A'BECKETT said he had been contradicted by two witnesses—Jones and O'Grady.

HIS HONOR said he had formed his own opinion, and would decline to commit him.

The prisoner was defended by Messrs. A'Beckett and Foster.

Probably for want of evidence, the Attorney-General declined to proceed further with the charge against Palmer and Jones for keeping the Crown witnesses, Howard and Perry, out of the way, and, when the case came on for trial, it was dismissed, the Magistrate remarking "that the case was far from being brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and if the person preferring it had been a person



who was ignorant of the law, the Bench would probably have considered it necessary to enquire further into the circumstances, but as the charge was preferred by the Attorney-General, or at his instance, and he declined proceeding any further, the Bench considered he had good grounds for so doing and dismissed the case."

"Johnny" Jones, who was present in Court when the judgment was given, intimated that he intended to lay a charge for perjury against Davidson, but no information can be got of any proceedings having been so taken.

For the information of the reader there are subjoined the depositions of those witnesses who gave evidence before the Magistrates, but were away from the jurisdiction of the Court when the trial came on.

"John Howard stated in his affidavit, that at the time alluded to, he was in the gang, under the prisoner's superintendence, as was also the deceased, Charles Denahan. About the time in question, a boat was lost at the bay, and blame was attributed to Denahan. One evening after the gang had returned from the pursuit of whales, Palmer entered the hut as the men were sitting down to supper, and beat Denahan for losing the boat. The next day the lad was sent out in the boat, but was unable to work, and fell with his head on the gunwale, and was brought back. The prisoner on that occasion attended to him, bled him, applied a blister, and gave him twelve drops of laudanum, observing he would either kill him or cure him. The rope with which he beat him, was about two inches and a half in thickness: the boy died in about twenty days after. Before his death, his groans were pitiable, and the smell proceeding from him was horrible. Witness' firm opinion is, that he died in consequence of the injuries inflicted on him by the prisoner. When Palmer beat Denham, the latter cried out, "Oh, my dear master, forgive me, and I'll work for you three years." Palmer answered, "No, you ——, your life will not pay for the boat." Several persons were in the house when the boy was beaten by Palmer, who must have given, at least, thirty blows. The beating brought

tears to witness' eyes, but he was afraid to interfere, as they were all dependent upon the prisoner, and the gang was divided, and he thought they might side with Palmer. Witness had been ill-treated himself, and was knocked down on the 24th September; before that, he had told Palmer that he would bring this case forward. The boy had been previously beaten by a man named Chasline, but witness did not observe anything the matter with him before Palmer came in. The body lay dead fifteen hours before it was buried; there were no missionaries near, nor any white people, except the gang; the body was black, yellow, and blue, from the ankles to the shoulders, and froth came out of the mouth; the body was far advanced in decomposition in a climate where fish would keep fresh a week; the weather was cold at the time; had never known a body buried so soon before; the smell from the body was intolerable; witness did not think these results would have been so soon produced by the climate; witness was of opinion that a corpse, which had died a natural death, would have kept fresh a week; witness had observed a bad smell come from the body of the lad five or six days before his death; there was no doctor there; the prisoner used to apply medicines to the gang. The rope with which the prisoner beat the boy might be a fathom long; he held the deceased with one hand, beating him with the other; the lad was not able to do any work after, and did not leave his bed till the night of his death, when he was put out of the hut by the cook, on account of the offensive smell proceeding from his body.

“Cross-examined.—Witness arrived here a few days before Christmas in the *Genii* brig; first gave information of the transaction about three weeks after; knows Davidson and Pearcey; they belonged to the gang and have had some dispute about wages; witness had not been induced by them to bring forward the charge, but a duty which he owed to God and man prompted him to do it; had been unwell and drunk several times, that was a failing of mankind. The statement transmitted to the Attorney-

General was written by one Oldfield, from the documents produced by witness. The beating the boy received was the most cruel, he, witness, ever saw, the boy's cries were horrid; Denahan was a delicate youth.

"James Lyons one of the gang on being examined stated, that he had had several interviews with the prisoner's employer (Mr. Jones) since Wednesday. Mr. Jones had sent for him to say that Palmer had been put in the watchhouse, and he wanted to see witness; he asked him whether the boy had been ailing before he was beaten, to which he replied that he had. Mr. Jones had no other conversation with him, respecting the case. Remembers the boy being beaten; the evening was dark and the hands were about to take their supper. Mr. Palmer came in and asked the boy about the boat, and then chastised him; the rope witness thinks was a piece of whaling line, and about three feet long; it was a pretty severe beating but witness had been punished as severely himself; heard the boy cry out "don't beat me any more and I'll work for you some years"; witness did not hear how many years he said; never saw him in health after that; never heard what his complaint was, or heard him say it was from the beating; the sailors used to say he was skulking, up to the very evening of his death; his breath was very offensive and his voice was hoarse. When Palmer beat him, witness thinks he held both ends of the rope in his hand and beat the boy with the bight; don't recollect having expressed an opinion that he died of the beating, but might have said so.

"Thomas Pearcey saw the beating; does not think it would occasion death, but might in the case of a delicate man; heard that deceased was troubled with worms."

## CHAPTER XIII.

### COOK STRAIT TRADE, 1838.

While the Sydney trade *viâ* Foveaux St. was practically in the hands of Jones and Weller and the shore whaling confined to them, quite a different condition of things prevailed in Cook St. There a fairly miscellaneous trade flourished with the natives and whaling stations existed more independent of Sydney ownership than were the southern ones. The result was that shipping masters advertised for cargo when sailing to Cook St. and many of the voyages partook more of the nature of trading expeditions.

The first regularly advertised sailing is to be found in the "Sydney Herald" of 8th January, 1838, thus:—

FOR QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND, CLOUDY BAY, &c.

Will positively sail in ten days

The new Fast-sailing

First-Class Schooner

*Hannah*

For Freight or Passage, Apply

to Captain Hay on board:

or to

Messrs. A. Mc Gaa, Breed & Co.

Sydney, January 8, 1838.

She sailed on 1st February and reached Queen Charlotte Sound on the fourteenth, where she found the brig *Vanguard*, which had been at anchor there since 13th January. The *Hannah* remained only seven days, and four days later the *Vanguard* sailed. On 2nd April the former reached Sydney, having on board 29 tuns oil, 12 cwt. whalebone, 6 casks of pork, 1 cask lard, 8850ft. plank, 25 bundles flax, 12 pigs, and 4 tons potatoes for W. Wright; 30 casks oil, and 58 bundles whalebone, for Ellison; and 15 bundles



whalebone, and 2 casks salted fish for R. Jones & Co. Mr. John Ellison came up as a passenger.

The miscellaneous nature of the cargo is due to causes already mentioned, and to the fact that, being the "off" season for whaling, the schooner had to be satisfied with the cleanings up of the various stations.

At Cloudy Bay the *Denmark Hill* had been lying at anchor since December. Her captain, Cole, had left her, and the command had devolved on the mate, Halliday, who procured a small cargo of timber which he landed at Sydney on 12th March. Two American whalers—the *Montana* and the *Mechanic*—had sailed into Cloudy Bay on 20th and 21st February, and on the twenty-eighth Guard arrived home in the *Speculator* from Sydney. He was accompanied by his wife and children. The *Speculator* had sailed from Sydney along with the *Hannah*.

On 7th February, a very serious disturbance took place at Queen Charlotte Sound (Tory Channel). Te Rauparaha and his friends having joined with the Ngati Awas, who protected the Sound, on an excursion to the southward for slaves, some dispute arose on the road and a canoe belonging to one of the local chiefs got broken up. In consequence of this the chief returned and took his revenge by smashing some of the canoes belonging to Te Rauparaha and his allies. "Old Robulla" was quickly on the track of the offenders, and a fight took place on a hill not 300 yards from a store belonging to an European. A great deal of ammunition was expended between 2 p.m. and dark, and six of the local men were killed. Te Rauparaha admitted to only one death on his side. The Europeans on the beach nearly all left and took refuge on board the *Vanguard*, then lying in the Sound. Captain Walker offered to move their stores elsewhere, but the Europeans thought it better to leave them where they were. All that was lost by doing this was a quantity of potatoes which were lying in a house some distance from the store. As the owner had had an offer from an American whaler to take the lot and pay in tobacco he felt his loss rather keenly. After the battle Te Rau-

paraha sent word to the storekeeper that he would not be hurt and would he kindly send the chief a bottle of brandy. Of course it was sent, and Te Rauparaha left about three days afterwards.

These dates coincide with those given in Hempleman's log of movements of the southern Natives. From 9th to 12th January Piraki was visited by five boats of Otago Maoris moving northward, on fighting bent. On 12th and 14th February the natives were again at Piraki, returning home. On the twentieth and the twenty-fifth of the same month Hempleman reports rumours of the redoubtable Maori general being at Kaiapoi.

On 17th April the *Hannah* sailed on her second voyage to New Zealand and made the round trip, calling at Kapiti, Mana, Queen Sound, and Cloudy Bay. She reported:—

At Kapiti (2nd June), *Samuel Cunard*, clean.

*Fame*, 90 bar. sperm.

*Warren*, 100 bar., 10 mos. out.

*Luminary*, 600 bar., 6 mos. out

At Mana, *Caroline*, Cherry, 120 bar., sp. and 1 black whale.

At Cloudy Bay, two American and one French whaler, names not known.

The *Martha* had sailed for the East Coast the latter end of May.

The *Hannah* left New Zealand on 27th June and reached Sydney on 28th July with 15 tuns of oil for R. Jones and a small cargo of whalebone for R. Duke, H. Hay, and W. Wright. In a dreadful gale of wind at Mana Island she lost an anchor and was very nearly driven ashore, and on her passage to Sydney she lost her foremast owing to the boisterous weather.

The *Martha* returned to Sydney *viâ* the Bay of Islands on 8th August, with a small cargo of oil and flax. She struck the same gale as the *Hannah*, and the second mate, while reefing sail, fell from the main yard arm into the sea, and was drowned, despite every effort made to save him.

The *Martha* was commanded by H. Hay, the *Hannah* by W. Hay.

Eight days after the *Martha*, the *Minerva* brought up a cargo of 5 tuns of oil and "4 bales wool, shorn from the back of sheep at Mayna (Mana) N.Z. and the first imported into this Colony (N.S.W.)." So far as being the first wool was concerned this was not the case, as we have already had a cargo of wool recorded (p. 133) from Mana Island to Sydney. Captain Leslie reported that the whaling season had been unsuccessful in Cook Strait, and that when he left there on 17th June, the *Luminary* (American), and the *Caroline* (Sydney), had each caught only one whale. The *Samuel Cunard* was then at Mana with 530 barrels.

On 22nd August H.M.S. *Pelorus* sailed into Port Underwood and cast anchor in Oyster Cove. She was at the time under the command of Lieutenant Chetwode and had come from Tauranga to pay a visit to the various whaling stations in the vicinity of Cook Strait. In the quiet waters of the whaling port she found the *Janet Izet* and the *Martha*, and she remained for a week, fitting up a false stern, taking in a supply of fresh water, procuring a sufficiency of firewood, and making an accurate survey of the harbour. During her stay John Guard of Kakapo Cove reported to Lieutenant Chetwode that he had seen a river between Queen Charlotte Sound and Admiralty Bay, and had, on one occasion, taken refuge in it during a gale of wind. Guard was well known to the naval men from his connection with H.M.S. *Alligator* four years before, and Chetwode at once decided to take him as pilot and ascertain whether the river would supply a suitable place for the settlement which the New Zealand Company, then in progress of formation in London, intended to establish in the vicinity of Cook Strait. Guard came on board on the thirty-first, and there were also taken on board two distressed British subjects named Wm. Davy and Thos. Briant.

On 1st September Chetwode sighted the river and

named it the *Pelorus*, after his command. He worked up the inlet for about 20 miles and cast anchor for the night within a cable's length from the shore, in a bay on the eastern side. By sunset on the third he had reached a spot about 40 miles from the mouth, when the water was found to shoal suddenly, and the anchor was cast in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. Chetwode left the ship and pushed on in the pinnace. At 10 miles from the ship he found the water fresh and good, but at 15 miles was unable to proceed, although a native chief, who lived at the entrance and who accompanied Chetwode, told him that the river extended for 50 miles further into the interior and that the land became flatter.

The *Pelorus* left her anchorage on the eighth, and got clear into Admiralty Bay on the tenth. She then rounded Jackson Head and entered Queen Charlotte Sound. While running into a cove to anchor for the night the water suddenly shelved, and the ship grounded, while rounding to come to an anchor. In about four hours she was got off, none the worse for her experience. Sailing up the Sound the next day she turned down what is now known as Tory Channel, and "anchored off a settlement about two miles inside the eastern entrance formed entirely of Europeans amounting to between 90 and 100." Here, at Te Awaiti, was found the *Hannah* lying at anchor. Chetwode says that there were 12 boats employed here under Messrs. Thoms, and another whose name cannot be deciphered, and the log of the *Pelorus* has this interesting entry: "4 p.m. saluted the Settlement with 9 guns in answer to the same number from them."

"Nothing," says Chetwode, "could have been more pleasing to the residents than my arrival at this juncture; Mr. Thoms had been robbed by the Natives of property to a great amount. As they were living only two miles from where the vessel lay, I went immediately to the spot to demand restoration, but the very name of a man-of-war had so frightened them (as it was the first that had ever



anchored there) that the principal chiefs and all those who were any way concerned in the robbery, had fled to the Bush in great consternation, leaving their slaves to deliver up the property we were in search of, in addition to which they brought numerous articles scarcely before missed, and during the whole of that night they were constantly passing and repassing the ship returning the plundered goods. After seeing things thus peaceably settled for Mr. Thoms, I collected as many of the principal natives as would venture to return from the mountains, and addressed them in a friendly manner, assuring them that so long as they did not interrupt Englishmen, a man-of-war would always be friendly towards them."

The interview with the native chiefs took place on the afternoon of 13th September, Lieutenant Chetwode landing with a party of seamen and marines. Moioio Island, well up the channel, is stated by Dieffenbach, writing in 1839, to be the spot, and this writer states that Chetwode fired some shots into the rock to frighten the Maoris; but the log of the *Pelorus* records nothing of that sort, and Dieffenbach is certainly in error when he states that Chetwode afterwards went to Te Awaitei. He called on the Maori chiefs after leaving the European Settlement. It should be noted that the *Pelorus* did not sail out into Cook Strait at Te Awaitei, but returned to Queen Charlotte Sound.

Hearing, while in the Sound, that Captain Cherry of the *Caroline* had been killed by the Natives near Mana Island, Chetwode made for the scene of the murder, and anchored near Mana on the fifteenth. Two English and two American vessels were found anchored there; their names are not given, but they were probably the Sydney whaler *Caroline* and the Hobart Town whaler *Highlander*; and the *Adeline* of New Bedford was probably one of the American vessels.

The same day a Court of Enquiry was held. It consisted of Lieutenant P. Chetwode, Acting Master D. Craigie, and

Acting Purser V. A. Haile; and there were examined James Ames, chief mate, James Reilly, second mate, George Potter, boatsteerer, and John Davies, A. B. of the *Caroline*. The evidence disclosed that about 11 o'clock on 27th August Captain Samuel Cherry and the third mate of the *Caroline* had landed on the mainland opposite Mana Island, at a spot about two miles from where the *Caroline* lay, for the purpose of looking out to seaward for whales. After a short time Captain Cherry left the mate to go and look at some potatoes which a native wanted him to purchase. About one o'clock a Maori came and told the third mate, who still kept watch at the same place, that Captain Cherry had been murdered. The mate, fearing the worse might happen, ran down to the boats and took them back to the ship. About 4 p.m. he returned and landed with a boat's crew, when he found Captain Cherry's body lying on a litter on the beach, with several natives round it, and one of the seamen of the *Caroline*, who had been left ashore, had put his own clothes over the stripped body of his captain. The body was then removed to the ship and the wounds washed and examined in the presence of Captain Lovett of the *Highlander*, and Captain Brown of the *Adeline*; when it was found that the back part of the head on the right side had been severely bruised, as if by a piece of wood and done suddenly, but, as there was no medical man present, no accurate examination could be made.

When the third mate was putting off in the boat to give the alarm to the ship, Mitikakau, a chief resident near the spot, forced into the boat, against the wishes of the mate, a slave to be killed as payment for Captain Cherry, according to Maori custom. This slave told that the chief struck the fatal blow, and that he, the slave, was obliged to hold Captain Cherry's feet to keep him down. On board the *Caroline* were several natives who were very much attached to Captain Cherry, and these men threatened to kill the slave if he remained. He was accordingly taken away for safety to Mana Island, but was killed and eaten by the natives

there immediately he was landed. A week after the catastrophe Ames went to Kapiti, to get Captain Finlay of the *Samuel Cunard* and Captain Hayward of the *Fame* to come over and assist in having the deceased's affairs settled.

Suspicion fastened upon a man named Thomas Ellison, who had been a mate on board the *Caroline*, and who had left on account of a misunderstanding with Captain Cherry. At this time he had married a daughter of a chief and was in charge of a whaling establishment only half a mile from where the murder took place. George Potter, the boat-steerer, told that two or three weeks before the murder, Ellison, or Thomas, as he was called, had threatened to break Captain Cherry's head with a stick, if he landed there. Lieutenant Chetwode had Ellison sent for and closely examined, but came to the conclusion that he was not concerned in the murder.

The decision came to was that Mitikakau killed the captain, not from any ill-feeling, but simply to obtain a new suit of Flushing which he wore on that occasion. Some of these clothes the chief afterwards gave up, at the same time telling the chief mate he was ashamed of what he had done, but considered himself blameless as he had not done the deed himself. However, when he heard of the expected visit of H.M.S. *Pelorus* he fled towards Port Nicholson with his canoes. He was described as a desperate man and one who had great influence over the others.

Owing to the absence of the guilty person, Chetwode had to be satisfied with threatening future pains and penalties. If the murderer was not taken and delivered up by the time another man-of-war arrived, all the pas would be destroyed. Te Hiko, after consultation with the other chiefs, promised to deliver him up in two months. There was always the danger that harsh measures might recoil on the heads of the innocent, and Mr. Bell, who was farming at Mana, and had 400 to 500 head of sheep and 27 head of cattle on his farm, told Lieutenant Chetwode that harsh measures on the Natives there, who were quite

innocent, would prove more injurious than beneficial to the Europeans. The whole matter had to rest at that.

Chetwode's opinion of the whalers about the locality was neither wordy nor flattering.

“They are, generally speaking, a disreputable and lawless set, distrusting each other, and telling innumerable falsehoods to support their villany.”

While the *Pelorus* lay at anchor at Mana there came a call from Kapiti for the services of Lieutenant Chetwode, and that officer set sail on 17th September and reached his destination next morning. There, were found three English and two American whalers. Though their names were not given—an old complaint with H.M.S. vessels—the English whalers were the *Samuel Cunard*, the *Minerva*, and the *Harlequin*, and the Americans were the *Luminary* and the *Warren*.

The trouble was that Captain Finlay of the *Samuel Cunard* had, after losing the greater part of his men by desertion, and while in a state of intoxication, jumped overboard and drowned himself. The mate thereupon took charge, got the vessel ready for sea and was in a fair way to sail in a few days. The services of the *Pelorus* were therefore unnecessary.

Before the arrival of a man-if-war an Australian aboriginal member of the *Samuel Cunard's* crew had been murdered by the Natives, and a young man named Stubbs had been drowned at Kapiti.

That same day—the eighteenth—the *Pelorus* sailed for Port Underwood, and discharged her pilot at Kakapo the following day. At Cloudy Bay her arrival was very opportune. A dispute had taken place between the crew of an American whaler and one of the shore whaling gangs, relative to their respective rights to a whale which the gang had in its possession, and which they refused to deliver up. The American had cleared for action; and was on the point of carrying out their threat of firing on the shore party when the *Pelorus* arrived. Lieutenant Chetwode settled



the dispute and the *Pelorus* sailed finally from Cloudy Bay on 24th September.

While at Port Underwood "firing practice (General quarters)" was indulged in on the twentieth, but whether it was in connection with the settlement of the dispute over the whale, or only the ordinary practice, the log does not say.

On 27th September, the *Harlequin*, Anderson, sailed from Kapiti for Sydney with 36 tuns oil and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  tons bone. Mr. Howell and Thos. Chandler went up in her as passengers.

The Cloudy Bay Whaling this season proved a total failure, not more than 300 tuns of oil being taken, counting shore parties and American whalers. The reason assigned for this was that there had been so many ships on the Off Ground that they had destroyed the whales which, in the ordinary course, would have been coming into the Bay. The cow whales produced the most oil, and they had been the scarcest, their places being filled by young bulls and "scrags." Ferguson's party at Ocean Beach with their six boats secured 70 tuns, and Messrs. McGaa's party of four boats, 60 tuns. Too many American, English, and French whalers, for the number of whales, was the trouble, and it was believed to be intensified by the fact that many of the whalers were new to the work, and their ignorance caused too many of the whales to escape, only to die.

The above was a summary of the news which Captain Hay of the *Martha*, one of McGaa & Co.'s boats, brought up. He left Cloudy Bay on 1st October with 70 tuns of oil and 3 tons of bone, and reported that, on the day of his departure, the *Janet Izet* and the *Speculator* had sailed for Queen Charlotte Sound. The last-named, with Guard in command, reached Sydney only two days after the *Martha*, with 2 tons of bone,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of pork and 2 of potatoes. Shortly after her arrival the *Speculator* was sold to Mr. Hibblewhite for £200.

On 29th October W. Hay took away in the *Hannah* from Kapiti, 55 tuns of oil and 6 tons of bone, consigned

to W. Wright. James Field came up in her as a passenger. Captain W. Hay told the same story of failure at the Island; Peterson's shore party alone having proved successful. The whalers had left for the sperm fishery, the *Fame* and the *Caroline*, on the fifteenth, and American whalers *Luminary*, *Warren*, and *Adeline* (with her tender the *Atlas*), on the twentieth. Although no mention is made of the fact, and Hempleman's log, not being written up for this season, throws no light on the subject, it is more than probable that Captain W. Hay took the *Hannah* down to Piraki and brought away the oil from that station. The silence maintained on the subject would be due to the fact that Hempleman was bound to deliver his oil to a rival firm.

The barque *Janet Izet* sailed on 20th October with 210 tuns of oil, 12 tons of bone, and the gangs belonging to Messrs. Ferguson and Furby. Captain James Scotland reported that the *Chieftain*, Howey, had called for potatoes, and sailed again, and that the *Tamar*, with 120 tuns of oil on board, was refitting for a six months' cruise.

The *Minerva* was at Kapiti from 14th September to 3rd November when she sailed with 56 tuns of oil, and 5 tons of bone, and Messrs. Evans and Radford, and 15 members of Peterson's whaling gang.

Dealing with the doings at Piraki the following letter in the author's hands discloses the relationship between Wright, Hempleman, and Clayton, and gives us an indication of the reason why so little oil was shipped from the station this year.

Sydney, 20th November, 1838.

Mr. Hempleman

Sir

I hereby agree to whatever arrangement Capt. William Hay of the *Hannah* has, or may enter into with you on acct. of oil, whalebone or flax, for the ensuing season, and would desire particularly to impress on your mind the necessity of retaining all the whalebone for me as it takes up but little room.

Also you must be more particular in keeping your dark or tanguers oil separate and branded as such, as I have been obliged to allow a deduction of £3 per tun on six tuns of the parcel now sent—the usual allowance on such qualities, as I had sold to arrive to Captain Duke “Claytons” agent. The fact of the oil having been purchased from you soon transpired, consequently Capt. Duke shewed me your obligation to Clayton to pay £632—odds—and binding yourself under a penalty of £1000 to sell neither oil nor bone until this debt should be liquidated, hence Capt. D. thought himself justified in laying a foreign Attachment in my hands upon the oil. This I disputed after taking my Attorney’s opinion on the subject. However, Capt. D. ultimately agreed to refer the case to the judgment of Council who gave it against him as the property now had passed into, or vested in Clayton, and you having sold it to a third party it could not be touched save so much as of the price as was not paid, but that he could proceed agt. you on the bond for breach of contract, &c. And as Capt. Hay assured me that you had just cause of complaint agt. Clayton for leaving you without supplies, &c., I venture to send you your entire order which will enable you to commence the fishing with vigour next season, and as you can depend fully on the punctuality of Captn. Hay’s trips, and as I have interested myself so much on your behalf in the above affair, I hope you will feel yourself in duty bound to act up to the letter of Agreement, and not act as in Clayton’s case. I would just mention further that if the oil had been given up to Captn. Duke I should have been paid for all the goods delivered you as well as freight on the oil. Yet as a matter of course you would have not have received any of the supplies now sent as the schooner would not have returned at all—hence you would have been fairly crippled for next season. I must charge

you a guinea for Council's fee on the subject which I am sure you will willingly pay considering how Clayton treated you.

I have purchased one of the most complete medicine chests that you have probably seen but I am afraid it is too costly for you as £5 was somewhere about your limits, but if so, return it as I cannot replace it less than £25. I think everything else is of such a quality and at such prices as you receive considerable satisfaction from.

The *Success* has gone to your place with an order to take in your oil & whalebone. The oil of course is gone and the captain informs me that you expect a ton of bone from Port Cooper, &c. I hope the *Success* has not got it from you. As you are aware from the difficulty of going to Peeraikie that a ton of w.bone will not pay the schooner's expenses altho' no charge was made, how much more will the disappointment be if you give the bone to Clayton as ordered.

I am &c.,

Your most obdt. St.

W. Wright.

Returning to Piraki, the history of which has only been dealt with in connection with the Maori raids, we find that Hempleman's log ends up on 24th May, and does not commence again until 26th December. During the five months of which we have the daily record, Piraki remained unvisited by any vessel from Port Jackson, and Hempleman had to rely upon the American and French vessels which called in at Akaroa and Piraki. Harassed by visits of war parties of Maoris, and no supplies coming in, it took the little party all they knew to sustain life, and every energy had to be directed to that one object. On 20th February, hearing that a vessel had arrived at Akaroa, Hempleman went over and found that it was the *Rosalie*, of America, bound to Sydney for provisions. Notwithstanding his own bad plight the captain supplied the old whaler



with 200lbs. flour, 200lbs. pork, and 447lbs. bread, "a happy deliverance for all hands has they had nothing but what Providence sent."

On 31st March two French vessels were reported at Akaroa, and on 1st April they came on to Piraki. From the *Adèle* was obtained brandy, tea, coffee, molasses, beef, pork, and flour. The name of the second French vessel is not given in the log but a pencilled note on the margin that it was the *Ajar* has been accepted by the editor. The vessel's name, obtained from the French Records, was the *Pauline*. These two vessels were later on joined by the *Gange*.

It is probable that Captain Pickens of the *Rosalie* told at Sydney, on his arrival there on 16th March, of the destitute condition of the Piraki station, with the result that the *Hannah*, when she sailed on 17th April, was sent down by W. Wright with stores and to bring back oil and bone if she could get it. Hempleman, disgusted at Clayton's neglect of him, may himself have applied to Wright.

In his letter, Wright mentions the *Success* as having sailed from Sydney for the whalebone at Piraki. As a matter of fact the *Success* was in Sydney Harbour at the moment Wright was penning the letter, and it is more than probable that he referred to the brig *Skerne*, which had sailed from Sydney on 28th October under the command of Catlin. Subsequent developments support this view as, later on, Captain Hay met Catlin coming out of Piraki in the *Skerne*, her delay in getting there being due to the fact that she sailed *viâ* the Bay of Islands.

The *Hannah* sailed on 29th November on the day following Wright's letter to Hempleman. We do not know when she arrived at Piraki, but she sighted the *Skerne* coming out of that port on 19th December, and when Hempleman's log opens on 26th December, she is leaving Piraki bound for Sydney.

The following table gives the quantity of oil taken away from the shore stations approached through Cook St. to the owners own stores in Sydney. Only those of which

express evidence is obtained of their having been in Cook St. are included, and it is believed, therefore, that the list is not quite complete. Owing to much of the Cook St. trade being carried on *viâ* the Bay of Islands, and on the road picking up oil at some of the smaller coastal stations, it is sometimes impossible to ascertain whether a vessel at the Bay came from or went to Cook St, or what her cargo from the latter place was. To arrive at the season's output for Cook St. it should be noted that the first three cargoes are those of the previous season, and that some of the *Hannah's* cargoes came from Piraki:—

| Arrival | Vessel            | Tons | Captain. | Tuns Oil.       |
|---------|-------------------|------|----------|-----------------|
| Mar. 8  | <i>Hind</i>       | 141  | Jones    | 40              |
| April 2 | <i>Hannah</i>     | 90   | W. Hay   | 29              |
| July 28 | „                 | 90   | „        | 34              |
| Aug. 16 | <i>Minerva</i>    | 122  | Leslie   | 4               |
| Oct. 12 | <i>Harlequin</i>  | 71   | Anderson | 36              |
| „ 29    | <i>Martha</i>     | 121  | J. Hay   | 70              |
| Nov. 12 | <i>Hannah</i>     | 90   | W. Hay   | 55              |
| „ 12    | <i>Janet Izet</i> | 229  | Scotland | 200             |
| „ 18    | <i>Minerva</i>    | 122  | Leslie   | 50              |
|         |                   |      |          | <hr/> 518 <hr/> |

## CHAPTER XIV.

### FOVEAUX STRAIT TRADE, 1838.

The *Magnet* reached Sydney on 29th January. She had taken ten days to run down to the south of New Zealand, and seventeen to return, and she brought up 48 tuns of oil, and some whalebone and flax. Her visit was, in the main, to take down whaling gear and casks for the 1838 season. Captain Bruce found all quiet among the natives.

On 16th February Bruce commenced his second trip, and with him Edward Palmer went down to the Preservation Bay whaling station to procure evidence for his defence in the manslaughter trial which was the subject of Chapter XII. On this trip the *Magnet* made the full round of Jones's whaling stations, calling at Passage Island, Patterson River, New River, Waikouaiti, the Bluff, Otago, and Preservation Bay, both going and coming. The trip concluded on 29th March, when she brought Palmer back to Sydney, and landed a cargo of 15 tuns of oil, 1 ton of whalebone, and 1 cask of seal skins.

At the New River Captain Bruce got on board what remained of the cargo of the ill-fated *Lynx*. Of the vessel itself, not a vestige could be seen, and of the casks, the greater number had been stolen by the Maoris. Pegasus and Otago had been visited by French whalers. Captain Bruce also reported that great preparations were being made for war, and that fighting men were being gathered together in great numbers to take the field. Of these movements we have already had mention made at Cloudy Bay and Piraki. Disease had again broken out and was playing sad havoc among the Maoris.

The next vessel to sail for Otago ports was a small 81 ton schooner called the *Success*, under the command of Captain Leathart. She left Sydney on 21st March with the object of placing some whaling gangs along the coast, but her movements are obscure until 11th July when she is known

to have been at Banks Peninsula. Grose was her agent, which would indicate that her stations were in opposition to Jones' and to Weller's.

With the third trip of the *Magnet*, on 17th April, Jones sent down 15 head of cattle to his whaling station, to enable beef to be bred on the spot, instead of having it brought, in the form of salt beef, on board the vessels. Jones may have also had then in his mind an idea of carrying on pastoral pursuits in New Zealand. Captain Bruce found the whaling stations in full swing, and the various bays crowded with visiting whalers. At Pegasus was the Sydney Whaler, *Mary*, Swindells, with 1800 bar. of oil. At the Bluff were no less than four Americans:—the *Alexander Barclay*, of New Bedford, 10 mos. out, 900 bar.; the *Lucy Ann*, of Wilmington, 12 mos. out, 800 bar.; the *Rosalie*, of Warren, which had called in at Sydney for provisions, and had only secured one whale since; and the *Fortune* of New Bedford, 19 mos. out, 750 bar. At the same port was also lying the *Governor Bourke* of Sydney, 4 mons. out, and with one right and one sperm whale. At Otago were two American whalers:—the *Columbus* of New Bedford, out 9½ mos., 1550 bar.; and the *Friendship*, out 9½ mos., 2300 bar. The French whaler, *Faune*, of Havre, was also in the port with 2,300 bar., and the *Dublin Packet* of Sydney made a fourth. The *Magnet* left Preservation station on 27th June, and reached Sydney on 13th July with 85 tuns of oil in her hold.

The *Dublin Packet*, which the *Magnet* found at Otago, had been purchased by George Weller in March, and had been put on to run to Otago. She had sailed from Sydney 12 days before the *Magnet*, with a whaling party on board, and when Captain Bruce called in at Otago she had shipped 15 tuns of oil. On 30th June she sailed with a cargo of 120 tuns of oil, and 10 tons of whalebone, and reached Sydney on 23rd August. Captain Wells commanded her. When she left Otago the *Columbus* was still at that port, and the French whaler *Faune* was on the eve of sailing for Havre with 400 tuns of oil.



On her passage to Sydney, during the month of August, the *Dublin Packet* experienced the most dreadful weather, and took no less than 21 days to accomplish the trip. Captain Wells reported that Jones' station at the Bluff was doing well and had obtained 150 tuns of oil. Other Bluff gangs were in a like predicament. At Preservation their luck had been bad. At Moeraki, which was under Hughes' management, the buildings had been burnt down and all the provisions destroyed. The oil, however, had been saved. The natives at Otago were peaceful, and some had gone to Port Cooper to procure whalebone.

The *Bee*, under the command of Hunter, on 9th June, made the fourth trip of the year for "Johnny" Jones. She found the *Columbus* still at Otago on 11th July, but the *Faunc* had sailed six days before. The *Alexander Barclay* and the *Lucy Ann* were still at the Bluff, and had been joined by another American—the *Izette*, of Salem, 8 mos. out, with 500 bar. The *Bee* sailed from Waikouaiti on 21st July, and reported that there were at New River, on 23rd July, the *Mary*, one American, and one French whaler. Jones' parties at Waikouaiti and Moeraki were reported to be doing well, but those belonging to Mr. Weller at Otago and at Bourracon (?Purakanui) were doing rather indifferently. At Preservation 40 tuns of oil had been secured and the station had been visited by the American whaler, *Fortune*. On 4th August the *Bee* left Preservation with a cargo of 95 tuns of oil and with Mr. and Mrs. T. Jones and two children as passengers.

We have already had occasion to refer to the *Success* at Banks Peninsula on 11th July. We now hear of her sailing from the Success River on 1st August, and reaching Sydney twenty-two days later. The Success River was what is now known as the Waikawa, and was called after Leathart's vessel. Captain Leathart brought up 30 tuns of oil, 3 tons of whalebone, and 8 tons of pork, and reported the *Mary*, the French whaler, *Mancha*, and an American, at New River on 1st August, and three Americans at the Bluff on 2nd August.

The next trip of the *Magnet* was to sail from Sydney on 5th August, and return on 4th October with 4 tuns of sperm oil, 76 of black, and 8 tons of whalebone. Mr. Hughes and Tuhawaiki, the Maori chief of Ruapuke, better known as "Bloody Jack," came up in her as passengers. Since the *Success* had reported the news of the New River, the French whaler, *Mancha*, had broken from her moorings and gone ashore. There she lay for some time until several of the American boats, which happened to be in the vicinity, came to her assistance, and their united efforts got her off in a damaged condition. To have the necessary repairs effected she sailed for the Bay of Islands. The *Mary*, after spending the bay season at the New River, had sailed for the sperm whaling, and all the ships at the Bluff had left for the open sea. At Otago the *Faune* had sailed for Havre with a cargo of 3000 barrels obtained in twelve months, the *Friendship*, we have already noted, had sailed for Fairhaven, and the *Columbus* remained alone. The last port of the *Magnet* was Port William, where she was weather bound.

The *Mary* experienced a terrible time after leaving her winter anchorage at the New River. She set sail on 24th August for the Neck, Stewart Island, and two days later continued her journey for Sydney. On the twenty-ninth she fell in with a heavy gale of wind from the westward, and at half-past ten p.m., while lying to, in a high and cross sea, lurching heavily to windward, the mainmast going just below the cheeks and taking with it all the upper gear, the mizzenmast, and the bow and waist boats. In a few seconds the ship made another lurch, when the remaining portion of the mainmast broke off about four feet from the deck. So as not to injure the rudder and to get clear of the wreck the vessel was kept before the wind. One of the boats on the bearers was completely smashed. The mainyard was saved and rigged for a mizzenmast, and a spar obtained at the New River was stepped on deck and a mainmast made, the stump of the old mainmast answering as a mast-head, on which they shipped a cap for the support

of the jury mast. The main top gallant mast, which was also saved, together with the topsail and top gallant yards, served to remedy that portion of the loss. After leaving New Zealand a series of westerly gales was experienced. On 10th October the *Mary* was off Howe's Island; on the nineteenth she reached Sydney with 1150 barrels of sperm oil and 460 of black. The captain's wife and his little child accompanied him on this exciting voyage.

The *Dublin Packet* came up from Otago to Sydney on 18th November. She had sailed from Weller's station on 26th October and from West Cape on 1st November, and had experienced such fearful weather that she had been driven south as far as 50°. Her report was that the Wai-kouaiti station had procured 25 tuns of oil, the Molyneux, 45, Waikawa 25, and Stirling at the Block, 80. The American whaler, *Fortune*, was to leave Molyneux Harbour on 14th November with 1500 barrels of black oil, and 10 tons of whalebone. The *Dublin Packet* brought up 77 tuns of oil and 5 tons of whalebone. Her passengers were J. Price, J. Brown, W. Hodges, D. Abbott, D'Ange's, T. Williams, and Mr. and Mrs. Brin and child. A whaling gang of 24 persons also came up in the steerage. Some 40 tuns of oil were left behind at Otago, and Captain Wells intended to return for it in about ten days time.

This is the first mention we have come across of the Waikawa whaling station. Edward Shortland, in his "Southern Districts of New Zealand," states that the Waikawa "fishery" was established by Grose of Sydney in 1838—this very year. Associating this statement with the voyage of the *Success* under Grose's agency, and the long absence of that vessel in and about Foveaux St. we will not be far wrong in concluding that she was there establishing stations at unoccupied likely spots, and that one of these spots was Waikawa.

On 27th December the *Magnet* finished her last trip for the year. She left Stewart Island on the tenth and brought up 70 tuns of oil, 13½ tons of whalebone, and 1¼

tons of flax. E. Palmer, Dr. Coscoine and a whaling gang of 20 men also came up in her to Sydney.

During the latter part of the year Foveaux St. was visited by an Expedition fitted out by the old established firm of Messrs. Enderby, of London. On 16th June, 1838, there sailed from that port, under the command of Captain John Balleny, the schooner *Eliza Scott* of 154 tons, and her tender, the dandy-rigged cutter *Sabrina* of 54 tons, under the command of Captain Freeman. The object of the Expedition was to look for land and for new sealing and whaling grounds in the high southern latitudes. Though the vessels utilised were small and were said to have once been pleasure yachts, they were considered at the time to be well equipped for exploration work.

On 3rd December, Captain Balleny sighted Dusky Bay, and in the evening entered Chalky. At daylight next morning the anchor was let go in Port Chalky, where, to the intense delight of all, the *Sabrina* was found, all well, having arrived three weeks before. From the date mentioned until 29th December, the two vessels remained at the anchorage, procuring wood and water, re-stowing the hold, and allowing the men a run ashore now and again and the use of a gun to replenish the larder. Throughout the stay the men seem to have developed a very mutinous spirit.

On the seventeenth a whaleboat from Preservation, with a party engaged in seal skinning, hove in sight, and the following day the two captains went to look for Jones' Establishment to obtain a supply of oil. They failed to locate it, and were compelled to return empty handed. On their road back they left the boat at Preservation and walked overland to Chalky.

The visit of the seal-skinning party appears to have suggested to the dissatisfied men a means of escape, and although Captain Balleny, who feared that something like this might happen, took the precaution of leaving his boat with the cutter instead of the schooner, the men proved too clever for him, and on the morning of the nineteenth a whaleboat of the *Eliza Scott*, and five men—David



Hellom, Henry Long, Tom Rosarie, Roderick McPeal, and Denis Driscoll—were missing, and with them a supply of slops and meat, bread, cheese, and tea. A search was made, and a visit paid to the whaling station, but all to no purpose, and boat and crew were never heard of more. Balleny speaks of them as a bad lot of men, and explains that the length of his voyage out was due to the fact that the ground tier of barrels in the hold, instead of being filled with water, were empty, thus making the vessel top heavy, endangering the lives of the expedition, preventing sail being carried, and extending unduly the length of the voyage.

On the twenty-third Captain Freeman paid another visit to Preservation, to try and procure articles required by the expedition.

Christmas Day was celebrated, by the captains, on board the *Sabrina*, and by the mates, on board the *Eliza Scott*. No embargo was laid by the Commander on the grog allowed to be consumed that day, but moderation was generally recommended. It was of little avail, however, as Captain Balleny records that when he returned to the *Eliza Scott*, the only one sober was the second mate, John McNab. The chief recovered the following day, but, from his demeanour, Captain Balleny concluded he had something to do with the departure of the men and that he was trying to sow seeds of dissension among the crew. So great was the friction with this officer that the captain contemplated disrating him. In the chief's log it is stated that Captain Balleny struck him, but the Captain, who afterwards obtained access to the log, placed on record an emphatic denial of the charge.

On the twenty-eighth another visit was received from Preservation and two of the party shipped for the voyage to the south. Two days later the expedition sailed round to Preservation, where they took on board, wood, water, and a new whaleboat, for which they gave in exchange the jolly boat. On 2nd January, 1839, they proceeded to Paterson River in Stewart Island, to procure the clothes of the men

who had been shipped. While there three sailors of the *Sabrina* tried to desert, but were captured and put back on board; the new hands were shipped, and the expedition set sail for the Antarctic on the seventh.

The next place of call was Campbell Island, which was reached on 10th January. Here were found three men and one woman, who had been left on the island by the *New Zealander* not less than four years before. These poor unfortunates were taken on board at Preservation Harbour on the twelfth, and the 170 skins, which was all they had gathered during their long captivity, were placed in the hold under an Agreement to be purchased by Messrs. Enderby for ten shillings each, payable on delivery in London. The men themselves were put on the list of crew, without wages, but on a 180 lay.

Delayed at Campbell Island by bad weather Balleny there met, strange to say, Captain John Biscoe, R.N., on board the *Emma*. He had sailed from Sydney on 8th December, also on a voyage of exploration and looking for seals. Captain Biscoe had, as we have already seen, commanded Messrs. Enderby's Expedition of 1831 in the same waters. On the seventeenth, sail was set for the south.

The discovery work accomplished by Balleny in the Antarctic will be found in the Journal of the R.G.S. 1839, pp. 517 et seq. and the Antarctic Manual, 1891, pp. 336 et seq. It remains here only to chronicle that the *Sabrina* was last seen at midnight on 24th March, and that the *Eliza Scott* reached London, alone, on 17th September, in time to supply the Ross Expedition with details of their discoveries in the Antarctic. What number of the Preservation Bay, Stewart Island, or Campbell Island sailors went to their death in the *Sabrina*, is not recorded.

The following table gives the quantity of oil taken from the Otago shore stations to the owners' own stores in Sydney in 1838. To form an opinion of the total production of Otago waters there has to be added to this the supplies obtained by the Australian, American, and French whalers which anchored in the bays or patrolled the coastline.

| Vessel.              | Tons. | Captain. | Arrival. | Tuns Oil.  |
|----------------------|-------|----------|----------|------------|
| <i>Magnet</i> ...    | 148   | Bruce    | Jan. 29  | 48         |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...    | 148   | „        | Mar. 29  | 15         |
| <i>Success</i> ...   | 82    | Leathart | Aug. 23  | 30         |
| <i>Dublin Packet</i> | 108   | Wells    | „ 23     | 120        |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...    | 148   | Bruce    | July 13  | 85         |
| <i>Bee</i> ...       | 135   | Hunter   | Aug. 23  | 95         |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...    | 148   | Bruce    | Oct. 4   | 76         |
| <i>Dublin Packet</i> | 108   | Wells    | Nov. 18  | 77         |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...    | 148   | Bruce    | Dec. 27  | 70         |
| Total ...            |       |          |          | <u>616</u> |

As shipped from Sydney for England this oil was valued at £14 to £16 in January, and £20 in December. Averaging the value at £16 would make it £9856 for oil alone.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE FRENCH FLEET, 1836 TO 1838.

The Americans were not the only foreign nation to take part in the Southern New Zealand whaling trade. During the season of 1836 a French whaler called the *Mississippi* anchored in Cloudy Bay and spent the winter there. We know little of her except that her sailing master was an Englishman of the name of Rossiter, some of whose descriptions of the place are recorded in an Article in the R.G.S. Journal, Vol. VIII., and who took back to France with him, Nayti, who afterwards returned with the New Zealand Company's Expedition in 1839.

None appeared on our coast in 1837, and it was probably the return of the *Mississippi*, with her cargo of oil and her budget of New Zealand whaling news, that directed the French whalers to the South of New Zealand, where they began to arrive in 1838. What makes this the more probable is that the *Mississippi* herself accompanied the whaling fleet which set out from Havre de Grace during June and July, 1837, and, with them, called at Hobart in the end of January, 1838. The first mention of their arrival on the New Zealand coast is the report of Captain Bruce, on his arrival in Sydney on 29th March, that one had been at South Cape, and another at Otago. These were probably the *Mancha* and the *Faune*, which wintered, the former in the New River, the latter, until she sailed on 5th July for Havre de Grace, full, at Otago.

It was Banks Peninsula with its capacious and beautiful bays and inlets which attracted the whalers of "the tribe of Marion," and there they made their presence felt during the season. On 31st March the *Adele* and the *Pauline* were there and were visited by Captain Hempleman from his Piraki station. On the following day both went round to Piraki, the *Adele* anchoring that day, the *Pauline*, the



following evening. From the former Hempleman filled up his empty stores with brandy, bread, molasses, tea, coffee, beef, pork, and flour; and when one of his leading men—Crawley—"ran a lance through his rist" one of the French doctors brought the latest surgical knowledge to bear upon its treatment.

From now on French whalers began to arrive at Akaroa in numbers. By 12th April the *Asia* had arrived, and on the eighteenth the boats of another Frenchman were at the mouth of the harbour scouring the sea for whales. On 1st May an American and a Frenchman arrived. This made five Frenchmen at Banks Peninsula up to this date.

To overlook the interests of France, and to maintain order in and give help to their numerous whalers in the South Pacific, the French Government had sent out the corvette *Heroïne*, under the command of Captain Cecille. She reached Hobart Town on 31st January and sailed from Sydney for the Bay of Islands on 15th April. Then she went on to Akaroa and cast anchor there on 8th June. In the Bay she found the *Nil*, the *Gustave*, the *Cosmopolite*, and the *Gange*. Of other French vessels the *Adele* and the *Pauline* were at Piraki; and the *Cachalot*, the *Asia*, the *Souvenir*, and the *Dunkerquoise* were at Port Cooper. Among so many vessels—and these whalers—it would have been a miracle if there had been no entanglements to unravel. The *Nil*, the *Gustave*, and the *Cosmopolite* had mated for the season, and the *Gange*, not allowed to participate in their operations, had to work on her own account and face the competition of the three mated vessels, with, naturally, very unsatisfactory results. After the arrival of Cecille the *Gange* sailed for Piraki and continued to whale there, much to her advantage, if not to the satisfaction of Hempleman and the two French whalers who already divided among them the "fish" that visited that locality. Desertion was another trouble, and the presence of the French corvette was taken advantage of to secure the return of some runaways who had boarded the American whaler *Bowditch*. In addition, Captain Cecille

restored order on several of the French whalers where insubordination reigned."

"Mating," or "la pêche par association" was common to the French as well as the Americans, but no mention of it is made among the Australians. It generally took place between two vessels, and the mention here of three associating to the exclusion of the fourth would point to some objection against the *Gange* working with the others. Though the system would have to be worked to suit the locality, Dumas thus describes the method adopted at Port Cooper: "each associated vessel, in turn, remained at the anchorage while the other went to tack about in Pegasus Bay, and the crew of the vessel in the Bay was recruited by twelve men borrowed from the stationary vessel: then, at the end of the season, they counted the barrels of oil obtained and made a division of them."

While the *Cachalot* was whaling at Port Cooper, Captain Langlois, her commander, conceived the idea that a French Settlement could, with advantage, be established in the locality, and he set to work to purchase the Peninsula from the Maoris. After some discussion with the different chiefs he purchased, or thought he purchased, the entire Peninsula for the sum of 1000 francs, 150 of which was paid on the spot in goods, and the remainder was to be paid on taking delivery. The document which he submitted to the chiefs and which they duly signed was in the following words:—

"We Thomy, Maintemaineii, Tokouraokai, Hota-hou, Pamiodeki, Exakanayi, Kimoini, Naoumonee, Makoaue, Tangiko, etc., etc., of Banks Peninsula, residing at Port Cooper, or Tokolabo, in New Zealand, have of our own free consent and good will, by these presents sold, with the promise of entire enjoyment of possession from the 2nd of August, 1838, to Monsieur Langlois, Master of the three masted whaler *Cachalot*, residing at Havre-de-Grace, in France, the property and enjoyment of the soil and surface of Banks Peninsula, in its

appurtenances, situate in Latitude 43° 30' and Longitude 174°, and depending from the Island of Tarai Pomanoo under the sovereignty of the King of Chegary.

The vendors and grantors by these presents divest themselves of all their rights and ownership in Banks Peninsula in favour of the said Monsieur Langlois, who shall henceforth possess, enjoy, and dispose thereof as the grantors would or might have done did this document of sale not exist, making no reservation but that of the taboed lands or burial grounds.

The purchaser will take the said Peninsula in the state in which it will be at the time of taking possession; this sale is made and accepted for the sum of one thousand francs payable in goods at the convenience of the vendor and in two instalments, the first to be of 150 (one hundred and fifty) francs and payable at once in the goods detailed below, to wit:—

One woollen overcoat—20 francs.

Six pairs of linen trousers—30 francs.

Twelve tarpaulin hats—60 francs.

Two pairs of shoes—10 francs.

A pistol—8 francs.

Two red flannel shirts—15 francs.

A tarpaulin cloak—7 francs.

The second instalment to fall due at the time of the taking possession.

The first instalment has been paid to the vendors who give a receipt therefor. This present deed is made and signed by the contracting parties.

At Port Cooper, or Tokolaba, the second of August 1838.”

[Here follow the signatures, represented by the moko of each of the chiefs, and below them the signature of Langlois. The whole of it approved by the moko of the King of Chegary.]

Captain Cecille employed his stay at Banks Peninsula in visiting the various localities where whalers were to be found, and in making charts of the different bays. These charts may still be seen amongst the public records in Paris. After leaving the Peninsula he set sail for the Bay of Islands and reached that port on 8th August. The following day the *Cosmopolite* arrived in a leaky condition and sadly in need of assistance. Captain Cecille at once went to her aid, had the cargo landed and the vessel examined and was able to repair the damage and load her up for her homeward journey after twenty days of unceasing toil. Through this the corvette's departure for Tahiti had to be delayed.

In addition to the names already given, the *Angelina* was reported by the *Governor Bourke* of Sydney to be at Port Cooper, probably about the end of July, though the exact date is uncertain. Captain Cecille is said to have sent back in her, to her own tribe in the Bay of Islands, a young Maori girl, Croua Roua, whose father and mother had been eaten by the Southern Natives, and for whom herself the same fate was probably in store.

Captain Cecille had now carried out his instructions to the letter. These instructions, so far as they related to New Zealand, were a modification of earlier instructions and were dated at Paris, 13th June, 1837. They read as follows:—

“From the information you have gathered about the course of most of the ships bound this year for the exploitation of the whale fishery, the itinerary planned for the *Heroine* in my preceding Instructions must be altered, so as to make your next commission as useful as possible. You should, therefore, according to the indications you yourself have furnished, when leaving Brazil, whither you will first proceed, sail up the South Coast to the 37th degree of latitude, cross the ocean on this parallel and arrive at the Cape of Good Hope next September. After having there completely revictualled the



Corvette, you will leave towards the end of October and will make for New Holland, following, in zig-zag course the parallels frequented by the whalers, and calculating your course so as to arrive in New Holland at the end of January of the year 1838. You will visit Hobart Town and will sail to Port Jackson where you will await our whalers calling there.

“Leaving that place with them, after having again revictualled, the *Heroine* will follow them to New Zealand, where she will remain as long as the fishing season lasts.

“At the end of the season, that is to say towards the month of August, you may, if necessary, return to Port Jackson to renew the victuals of the Corvette, and you will then direct your course towards the Island of Otaiti (Tahiti) so as to show the national flag in these islands.”

Under these instructions she reached Hobart Town, as we have already seen, on 31st January, proceeded to Sydney, which she left on 15th April for the Bay of Islands, and then followed the whalers down to Akaroa on 8th June. At the end of the season we find her at the Bay of Islands ready to sail for Tahiti “to show the national flag in these islands.”

So far it has not been mentioned that, to assist the industry, the French whalers were given a bounty by their Government. It is said to have consisted of the substantial sum of £4 per tun, advanced on the security of returning the same amount for every tun of oil short of the burden of the ship which she brought home of her own taking.

Before the *Heroine* could resume her voyage to Tahiti a far more difficult task than the relief of the *Cosmopolite* faced Captain Cecille. The *Rebecca Sims* arrived on 28th September from Chatham Island with the distressing news of the destruction of the French whaler, *Jean Bart*, and the entire disappearance of her crew.

The *Jean Bart* had had a most unfortunate voyage. She arrived at the Bay of Islands on 16th February of this year, and no sooner had she cast anchor than her commander, Captain Gauteau, after giving orders about the cleaning and safety of his vessel, went down into his cabin and committed suicide. The first officer took command, and the services of an Englishman named Thomas Grimwood, who was acquainted with the Chathams, were retained to pilot the ship among the southern islands.

Captain Cecille determined to proceed at once to the Island and obtain satisfaction for the injury done to his countrymen, and for this end made arrangements with Captain Ray, of the American whaler *Rebecca Sims*, and with Captain Walsh of the French whaler, *Adele*, to accompany him and to place their ships at his disposal. The scheme was to utilise the whalers, whose presence at the Island would cause less alarm than that of the corvette, by placing on board of each of them twenty men of the *Heroine*, so that when the ships came to an anchor and the Maoris crowded on board to trade they could be captured in large numbers. To facilitate the carrying out of the scheme the *Heroine* was, on arrival at the Island, to keep out of the way until the following afternoon. There was something of Rauparaha's Akaroa scheme in it, but instead of eating the captured Maoris it was intended to hold some of the chiefs to answer as hostages for the lives of any Frenchmen who might be on the Island and to reduce by so many the number of the natives to be fought ashore.

The "fleet" left the Bay of Islands on 6th October and reached its destination on the seventeenth. The suspicion of the natives, however, prevented the plan succeeding; no one would go on board unless some hostages went ashore. In spite of these difficulties Captain Ray managed to entice on board his ship the chief and his wife, two other natives, and four young women, with an Englishman named Coffee, who was married to one of them. It was then eight o'clock in the morning and at midday they were all very anxious

to return ashore; as there was no chance, therefore, of enticing any of the others on board before the arrival of the corvette, they were all arrested. In the tumult which this occasioned, the chief's wife managed to escape and throw herself into the sea. She was gaining the land when a sailor, taking her for a man escaping, shot her dead. The noise gave the alarm ashore, where already many armed natives, restless at seeing the chief remaining so long on board, were scattered about in the bush on a piece of rising ground near the anchorage, observing everything that passed. They at once commenced a musketry fire on the ships which lasted for an hour and a half, many bullets fell on board and pierced the boats, but no one was hit. Captain Walsh put an end to the firing by sending some cannon balls on to the mound from whence it came. The corvette arrived at three in the afternoon, and the prisoners were taken on board of her.

The chief, Eitouna, was examined in the presence of the officers of the *Heroine*, and the following narrative obtained from him: The *Jean Bart* arrived at the Chatham Islands in the beginning of May and was met by several canoes belonging to Eitouna's tribe and by two large ones belonging to Pomare's. The speed of the French vessel caused some of the canoes to cast off as they could not keep up with her. About two o'clock in the afternoon the *Jean Bart* dropped anchor in the small bay where Eitouna's tribe was settled, and the captain, seeing so many natives on board the vessel, became anxious, and asked Eitouna to send them ashore. The Chief gave orders for that to be done, and some did go, but others remained to traffic with the sailors; all Pomare's men remained on board, so that there were 70 on the ship, of whom 18 belonged to Eitouna's tribe. In the meantime the captain of the *Jean Bart*, not thinking himself safe, got his vessel under weigh to get out of the bay. Eitouna cautioned him against Pomare, and, to win his confidence in himself, showed him some certificates given him by various visiting whalers, but the captain would not read them. Eitouna and several of the

chiefs then went into the cabin. While there they heard a great noise on the deck, and when they reached the head of the companion hatch a wounded New Zealander fell from the deck on to the companion, and they all returned to the cabin. Soon the partition was burst open and someone tried to kill them through the opening. The Maoris then seized some guns which they loaded, and, while defending themselves, killed two of the crew. At once the skylight and companionway were barricaded and in a short time all was quiet. Eitouna thought that the crew, frightened at seeing them possessed of the guns, had barricaded the openings so as to give them time to seize the canoes and make off, because, when he and his people reached the deck, no one was visible. The Chief stated that 28 New Zealanders and one woman were killed, while 20 others were wounded, and that 9 of the killed and 3 of the wounded belonged to his tribe. He gave the names of everyone of these men and counted them by tens on his fingers. The cause of the fight was punishment inflicted on some of Pomare's people for petty thieving. But for the firearms the Maoris got hold of, which frightened the Frenchmen, all would have been killed. When asked why he had taken six guns and a barrel of powder with him in his canoes when he went to meet the *Jean Bart*, Eitouna said that he had been constantly quarrelling with Pomare and had taken this precaution to defend himself in case of attack. Only two sailors on board the *Jean Bart* lost their lives.

The following day, at 9 a.m., one hundred armed men went ashore to fight the islanders, but all had taken to flight into the woods where it was impossible to reach them. All the dwellings, as well as seven canoes, were set on fire, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, there remained only ashes of an establishment which covered an area of about three-quarters of a mile. In the pas were found a great quantity of potatoes and some pigs. All were collected. The burning of their village and the pillage of the



provisions were deemed just reprisals for the burning of the *Jean Bart* and the pillage of that ship.

The women told Captain Cecille that he had done more harm to them by burning their pas than by killing some of their people. The loss of their canoes was irreparable as the Island did not produce trees big enough to construct new ones, those they had had come from New Zealand.

As only two of the boats of the *Jean Bart* were found in the bay Cecille concluded that all the Frenchmen could not have been killed, and this lent colour to the story of the Maoris. There were no traces to be seen of the cabin boy, who, it had been stated, had been taken ashore alive.

The old Chief remained for some days in the greatest anxiety as to his fate, and several times asked if he was to be put to death. Cecille ordered him to be brought up for sentence, and told him that he was to be taken a prisoner to France. The King of the French was great and generous; he could trust to his mercy and would probably be sent back to the Island. Eitouna was resigned and again assured the commander that he had taken no part in the killing of the Frenchmen and had always acted right towards Europeans, a statement which was endorsed by Captain Ray of the *Rebecca Sims*. The chief, not knowing that his wife had been killed, asked to be allowed to take her with him, but Cecille excused himself from granting this request by saying that the French laws did not permit them to make women prisoners and told him that it was through his own fault that these misfortunes had happened: that he had allowed Frenchmen to be killed when they came to him without any hostile intention, but only to trade and live in friendship; but now that satisfaction had been obtained they had nothing further to fear.

Eitouna then addressed himself to the women, whom he asked permission to speak to, in order to exhort them to welcome strangers in the future. He spoke for some time, and they listened with great attention to the instructions which they were to transmit to the men of the tribe.

On 20th October his interview with the women was repeated. To one of them he gave his shirt and his waistcoat, and, cutting off three locks of his hair "tabued" them and gave them to her also. Finally he embraced her and said good-bye. To calm Eitouna's fears of further revenge Cecille gave him a certificate acknowledging that he was satisfied with the punishment he had inflicted on the tribe. This the chief put his "moko" to and gave to his niece to hand over to the men of the tribe. The women were then sent ashore.

For the services of the *Adele* and the *Rebecca Sims* the French Commander was exceedingly grateful and reported upon them to his Government in terms of the highest praise. Captain Walsh was a naturalised Frenchman, but did everything that a native-born Frenchman could have done, while Captain Ray had not hesitated to leave the Bay of Islands, where he had gone to refresh, and return at once to the Chathams. He it was who had made Eitouna prisoner.

Speaking about the general causes of the disaster, Captain Cecille said:—

"Nearly all the misfortunes which have happened in these countries have been provoked by the aggression of the Europeans. It is useless for me to say that this observation is in no way applicable to the unfortunate catastrophe of the *Jean Bart*, for it is quite evident that the crew of this vessel had had no time to bring upon themselves the hostility of the natives of Chatham Island. But it is only too true that the natives being outside of civilization are exposed to the brutality of sailors of all nations frequenting these Islands, and especially to the brutalities of the escaped convicts from Sydney and Hobart Town, who are in great numbers in these Islands. The natives are guided towards these strangers who ill-treat them, only by the natural sentiment of vengeance inbred in every human being. and with them this sentiment takes a barbarous

character, and, often inspired by the justice of their cause, they put their enemies to death. But if the maritime nations have indeed the right to punish these people with severe penalties, have they not also a great duty to fulfil? —the duty to protect them against these men, devoid of courage or honour, who oppress them and threaten them with the vengeance of their government if they dare to revolt against their arbitrary conduct.”

Captain Cecille probably did not then know what Busby, the British Resident at the Bay of Islands, afterwards reported to the Governor of New South Wales, and which was to the following effect:—About two years before this event the *Caroline*, of Hobart Town, commanded by Captain John Robertson, was “fishing” near the Chatham Islands when the master employed a party of the Natives to clean a quantity of whalebone, promising them a cask of tobacco by way of payment. When the work was done he refused to fulfil his promise and took away three or four of the Natives, who were on board his vessel at the time, and made them do sailor work. One of the mates of the *Caroline* was this same Grimwood who was now acting as sailing master for the *Jean Bart*.

Captain Walsh told, on his return to France, that after he had sailed from Chatham Island, he learned, per medium of the *Gauge*, that Captain Cecille, after having visited Pitt Island, had learnt from the islanders that a portion of the crew of the *Jean Bart* had taken refuge in an island which they had managed to gain in the ship’s boats; that the Commandant had then examined the island which was pointed out to him but without finding an inhabitant, and that he returned to Chatham Island and destroyed a second village situated on the opposite shore of the bay, setting fire to the dwellings and razing the small fortifications which surround it, but he had been unable to take any prisoner, because all the inhabitants had fled into the woods from whence it would have been impossible to drive them out.

The three Maoris captured on board the *Rebecca Sims* were taken to France in the *Heroine*. Their fate was indeed sad; the chief committed suicide, one of his companions died of illness at Brest, and the third was sent out on board the *Aube* under the command of Captain Lavaud when the French settlement was being formed at Akaroa in 1840. There appeared to have been a lingering desire on the part of the French for further reprisals against the Chatham Islanders, and it was thought that this third Maori might prove useful. He died, however, on board the *Allier* off the coast of New Zealand, in March 1842, without seeing his native land again. Lavaud was very much attached to Etaca, as he was called, and had seen to his education. He could read, write, and speak French well, was fond of the ship's company, and had helped to give his compatriots a high idea of the French. He was baptized by the Catholic missionaries, and, before his death, received the last rites of his Church. He contracted a chest complaint which carried him off in two months in spite of the most tender care lavished on him. Sailor fashion his little kit was sold, and the proceeds handed over to the state.

The author has prepared this narrative of the *Jean Bart* massacre from the reports of Commander Cecille and Captains Walsh and Ray, as they were given in the French newspapers when the news reached France. Many of these accounts reproduce the actual words of the reports, so it may be taken as the official French narrative. As it is based on the account given by the Maori Chief, it is worth calling attention to the very unsatisfactory nature of the Chief's account of the proceedings on board the *Jean Bart*. When Eitouna was warned off the whaler some of his men went, but Eitouna himself and some others went below. It is difficult to understand why they were allowed to do this when even their presence on deck was objected to, and, furthermore, why they themselves did this when the vessel was actually proceeding to sail away. Supposing, however, it is correct, and that they went below, what became of the



Maoris on deck and the Frenchmen below? They would have all to be killed to fit in with the statement that no one saw the sailors leave the ship. Even if the Maoris on deck were all killed, those who had gone ashore must have seen where the ship's boats went to. Strange to say there does not appear, in the mind of Captain Cecille, to be any inconsistency between the narrative of the Chief and the fact that clothes of the *Jean Bart* sailors were found containing cuts as though made by cutlasses or lances. From the evidence of the reports as published in the French press the author cannot see that the statement of the Chief explains the incident.

Before this subject is left, it may be mentioned that at any rate one French writer of repute—Alexandre Dumas in "*Les Baleiniers*"—directly challenges the account given by the Maori Chief, and as this writer gives an account of the massacre which puts his own countrymen in the wrong, it cannot be passed over lightly. There is one explanation which must not be lost sight of. Cecille may not have been satisfied with the Chief's statement, he may even have heard the other version, but that version may have been such that it could not have been made the subject of a report other than confidential. Following his rule of using only the earlier records of events for the narrative, the Author leaves the rival story over until an opportunity can be obtained of viewing the complete files of Cecille's reports and of investigating the material available to Dumas when he wrote "*Les Baleiniers*."

About the month of August, as we have already seen, the *Mancha*, which was whaling at the New River, broke from her anchors and got ashore. Her master, Le Bailley, was for abandoning her after she had been ashore some time, but with the assistance of several American whalers in the locality she was hauled off after suffering considerable damage. She made for the Bay of Islands for repairs and reached her destination on 10th October.

The following is a somewhat meagre summary of the

distribution of the French whaling fleet in Southern New Zealand in 1836 and 1838:—

| Ground.        |     | Vessel.                | Master.     | Tons. |
|----------------|-----|------------------------|-------------|-------|
| New River      | ... | <i>La Mancha</i>       | Le Baillie  |       |
| Otago          | ... | <i>La Faune</i>        |             |       |
| Piraki         | ... | <i>L'Adele</i>         | Walsh       |       |
|                |     | <i>Le Gange</i>        | Grandsaigne |       |
|                |     | <i>La Pauline</i>      | Gueyin      |       |
| Akaroa         | ... | <i>La Cosmopolite</i>  | Legrue      | 589   |
|                |     | <i>Le Gustave</i>      | Desclos     | 482   |
|                |     | <i>Le Nil</i>          | Smith       |       |
|                |     | <i>L'Angelina</i>      | Manger      |       |
|                |     | <i>L'Asia</i>          | Jay         |       |
|                |     | <i>Le Cachalot</i>     | Langlois    | 582   |
|                |     | <i>Le Dunkerquoise</i> | Radon       | 400   |
|                |     | <i>Le Souvenir</i>     |             |       |
| Cloudy Bay     | ... | <i>La Mississippi</i>  | Rossiter    | 389   |
| Chatham Island |     | <i>Le Jean Bart</i>    | Gauteau     |       |
|                |     | <i>L'Heroine</i>       | Cecille     |       |

## CHAPTER XVI.

### TARIFF DISPUTES, 1834 TO 1838.

It is not suggested that the same condition of things prevailed in the sperm as in the right whaling trade. It did not. In the sperm whaling, British—meaning by that term, fitted out from some port in the United Kingdom—and American vessels, did a very substantial part of the whaling, and Sydney and Hobart Town craft had to be content with a comparatively small, though rapidly increasing, portion. In the right whaling, and more especially in the bay whaling portion of it, as the earlier chapters have shown the reader, very little of the trade on the Southern New Zealand coast was carried on by British vessels. With but few exceptions we have had to deal, up to the present time, with vessels fitted out from, and owned or chartered at, Sydney and Hobart Town. It was the year 1834 which saw the first British and American vessels taking part in the trade.

Why this condition of things prevailed is not difficult to explain. As the whale was persecuted by its captors it left the highways of commerce and sought safety in the less disturbed waters of the South Pacific, far removed from London and New Bedford—the whaling headquarters of Britain and America. Contemporaneous with this removal of the theatre of whaling, came the growth of New South Wales, and the establishment of the cities of Sydney and Hobart Town as ports from which whalers could be fitted out with the greatest ease. As these two ports were much closer to the field of operations than their Atlantic competitors, Australian vessels could spend a longer period of their voyage on the whaling grounds, and it was only a question of time, therefore, for the latter to do more than hold their own in the South Pacific oil trade.

When we come to institute a comparison between

British and American whaling we are face to face with a very different proposition. The headquarters of both were similarly situated in regard to the whaling grounds, and both had to undertake the long voyage going and returning. Both had generations of whalers and whaling experience to draw from. In spite of these resemblances, however, there was really no comparison between the work done by the two countries in the New Zealand whaling trade. The British whaler never was a serious rival of the American. What the cause was the author is not prepared to say, but the fact is established by the number of vessels engaged in the trade, and that it was realised by the British Authorities is shown by the attempts made to place the two countries on an equal footing.

Amongst the schemes put forward to bring about a better state of things, the one which met with most favour was to place on the Statute Book a preferential tariff in favour of whaling products from British fishing. It was pointed out that Britain was the greatest market for whale oil in the World, and, if a substantial duty were imposed upon oil produced by foreigners as against oil produced by British subjects, it would not be profitable to employ foreign men and ships in the trade, and Britain would come into her own.

As a result, legislation (3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 52) was passed providing that train oil, blubber, spermaceti oil, and head matter, the produce of fish or creatures living in the sea, taken and caught by the crews of British ships, and imported direct from the fishery, or from any British possession, in a British ship, must pay a duty of one shilling per tun. If the above were the product of fish or creatures living in the sea, of foreign shipping, it must pay a duty of £26 12s. per tun. A declaration was required from the master or shipper. The legislation also provided that, to import direct, the vessel importing must have cleared from the United Kingdom, the Channel Islands, or Man, otherwise the produce must be imported from a British Possession and accompanied by a certificate by the



shipper that it was the produce of fish or creatures living in the sea, taken wholly by British vessels. This legislation was expected to act in the interests of British whaling.

What we are interested in is not whether it did what the author of the legislation intended it should do, but what Southern New Zealand questions arose under the legislation, and what effect they produced on our bay whaling trade. We will therefore discuss, in the order in which they arose, the cases affecting Southern New Zealand which came up for settlement by the Board of Customs, London.

#### THE OTAGO FISH, 1834.

This does not refer to whaling, but the same legislation applied to other produce of New Zealand waters, and it is dealt with here for convenience of arrangement of subject matter.

In September, 1834, the Customs of Port Louis, Mauritius, advised London that a quantity of salt fish, "the produce of New Zealand and imported into New South Wales by the *Lucy Ann*," had been imported into the Mauritius in the *Sovereign*. This was part of a cargo of 23 barrels of salt fish which the *Lucy Ann* landed at Sydney from Weller's Establishment at Otago, on 22nd April of that year, consigned to George Weller. The consignees were unable to produce any certificate of how the fish come to be caught, and the cargo was accordingly seized by the Customs Authorities at Port Louis.

Pending the arrival of the certificate demanded, it was arranged that the fish should be landed and sold in the presence of a Customs officer, and the proceeds deposited in the King's Chest. This was done, and a sum of £18 16s. 6d. paid into the Treasury. In October, London was advised, and wrote Sydney regarding the omission. The Mauritius Authorities in due course procured the certificate, and handed over the money. When the Sydney Collector replied to the London Office he stated that the fish had been "caught by British subjects who have an

Establishment at New Zealand, where they reside during part of each year."

At once it will be seen what a liberal interpretation the Authorities were prepared to put upon the legislation. The expression "taken and caught by the crews of British ships" was being stretched to cover "caught by British subjects who have an Establishment at New Zealand, where they reside during part of each year." If this be justified on the grounds of coming within the spirit of the Act, though not fitting in with local conditions, it may be pointed out that the fishery establishment at Otago was stationed amongst a large Maori population, many of whom were in the employ of Weller, and were by him engaged whaling and fishing, for which latter occupation they were specially well fitted. Our knowledge of the constitution of Weller's Establishment—that one-half of his staff were Maoris—would indicate to us that the fish were probably caught by foreigners. Under no circumstances could Weller's Establishment be called a British vessel.

It is evident that the requirements which common-sense dictated at Sydney enabled a wholesale evasion of the terms of the preferential tariff to take place. So far as the encouragement of British trade was concerned all that the tariff did was to place a hindrance—perhaps a small one—in the way of trade between New Zealand and Port Louis. British trade was not helped. The carrying trade certainly suffered.

#### WELLER'S APPLICATION, 1834.

After the Wellers had found that their Otago station was going to prove a fairly profitable venture, and before the troubles with the Maoris during the season of 1834, they decided to try the experiment of shipping the oil direct to London instead of through Sydney, and accordingly the New South Wales member of the firm made an application to the Collector of Customs at Sydney to ascertain exactly the position. So uncertain was the Sydney view of

the meaning of 3 and 4 Wm. 4, c 52 that Weller's query had to be referred to London.

In the statement of the case sent, Weller's Establishment is described as wholly British, "the men the gear and the boats and the party" being furnished with provisions from Sydney. That was not correct, as one-half of the men were Maoris, who were not British subjects. Mr. Weller's request was stated to be "whether if he sends from home a British vessel, to take on board and carry direct to England the oil thus cured, and obtain from the Resident at the Bay of Islands, a certificate that it is so caught it will be admitted as English." The idea would seem to be to provision the gang from England, and take the oil back, or combine open sea whaling with the working of the gang, as was done by some of the other Australians, only that they operated from Sydney. Probably the expression "from home" was used to keep within the terms of the Act, which stated that the ship must clear from the United Kingdom.

The London reply was that, as New Zealand was not a British possession, oil from there to England would be liable to a duty of £26 12s. This reply was conveyed to Weller under date 29th September, 1835, and prevented him carrying out his scheme of direct exportation.

In this case, the preferential tariff proved injurious to British trade. The oil was destined for London, and the law prevented it being delivered there at as low a cost as it otherwise could. It compelled it to be sent to Sydney and then on to its destination. The same law prevented the supplies for the station being sent from London, and compelled them to be bought at a more expensive figure in Sydney. All the time this legislation was supposed to be in the interests of British trade.

Following on the receipt of the letter of advice from London, a peculiar mistake was made by the Sydney officials. They appear to have entirely lost sight of the fact that the oil from New Zealand whaling stations was being exported to London under the provisions of an Act

which allowed it, if coming from a British Possession, to come in under a certificate that the whales had been taken by the crews of British vessels. The intermediate stage of the New Zealand oil going to Sydney, and there being reshipped, appears to have been lost sight of, and the London letter was read to mean that oil taken on shore at New Zealand could not be landed in London without paying the enormous duty of £26 12s.

The Customs Officers realized at once that their interpretation of the London letter meant death to New Zealand whaling trade, and they accordingly reported, for the benefit of the London Office, upon the system which prevailed at their port, of sending to England oil which had been obtained at New Zealand—not a British Possession. Anticipating that when the Board of Customs found out that the oil was New Zealand got they would refuse to receive it any longer as British, the Governor was advised of what steps were being taken, and it was suggested to him that as this would mean a great loss to the young Colony, he might write the Lords of the Treasury on the matter.

The reader will bear in mind that the Customs Officers were Imperial men, and communicated with, and received instructions from, the Customs Officers in London, and not the Governor of New South Wales. The following letter was then addressed to the Board of Customs:—

Decr. 22nd 1835.

Honourable Sirs

Referring to Your Honor's Order of the 30th May last No. 22 we think it necessary to report that the several British Establishments alluded to therein as described in our communication of the 25th October, 1834, No. 49 have been carrying on the whale fishery at New Zealand for the last ten years and during the whole of that time the oil, after being brought up here, was shipped for the United Kingdom as British caught and cured.

This system was found in existence at the time Mr. Cotton and Mr. Lauga took charge of the



Department, and was allowed by them and by ourselves up to the present moment. But the above Order has entirely altered our opinion as to the propriety of such proceedings, and we therefore, hasten to lay the case before your honors, for instructions as to our future guidance on this head. We cannot exactly trace the foundation of these Establishments: but we have reason to think that, independently of the great benefit they were to a young Colony like this and to the parties themselves, they arose in consequence of the peculiar footing so similar to that of a British Possession on which New Zealand was placed by His Majesty's Government, as for a certain number of years, the Flax and Spars of the Islands were admitted into the United Kingdom free of all duty, in like manner, and for the like period with the produce of the Colony, and besides recognising the British resident sent from hence to that place, the Lords of the Treasury allowed their vessels to sail under a British Flag.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration and the Fish being decidedly caught by British subjects it was not recollected that being boiled or manufactured into oil on the shores of a country not British it could not, accordingly to the strict letter of the Law, be considered as British cured.

So much capital has however been invested in these speculations so long countenanced and so great a sensation has been created amongst the merchants by the mention of our intention to write home upon the subject that although we fear we have been acting in error, we do not feel justified in at once refusing to certify to the oil which may be shipped (in which view of the case we are borne out by His Excellency the Governor) as there is not consumption here for a twentieth part of what is caught, and would in consequence be entailed on the parties by such a measure. Neither can they break up their

Establishments at a moment's notice, and we therefore venture to submit that should it be decided that the importation of this oil as British caught is illegal time may be given to the parties after the receipt of any order your Honors may be pleased to send to withdraw their Establishments and some provision be made for receiving at the low rate of duty such oil as may at that time be caught.

J. GIBBES Collr.

B. LAUGA Contr.

The Board of Customs, London, when replying, very clearly stated the law upon the question and pointed out that where oil was produced by British subjects at New Zealand it could be imported into Sydney, and, after being landed there, could be re-exported to London under the provisions of 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 52. They also pointed out that the question raised on Mr. Weller's application was quite different to the one now under consideration.

Their next step showed how little the Sydney officials understood of the Act they were administering. They could not understand, they said, how, if it was unlawful to import oil from one Establishment direct to London it could be lawful for four or five to do it indirectly *viâ* Sydney. Their letter, in fact, was a blunt suggestion that the London Authorities had backed down.

This was too much for Official London, and a carefully worded explanation of the whole case was concluded in the following words:—

“We further acquaint you that had you sufficiently attended to our Orders of the 30th May, 1835, No. 22, and the 28th July, 1836, No. 54, which we consider contained explicate instructions for your government, you could not have failed to observe, that oil sent direct from New Zealand to the United Kingdom, whether taken by one or more British subjects, could not upon its arrival have been admitted as British taking, and that it must have been in the first instance sent to Sydney to be there

landed and subsequently shipped for exportation under the superintendence of the proper officers to entitle it to be admitted at the low duty upon its arrival in the United Kingdom.

B. B. DEAN.

HY. LEGGE.

W. CREELY.

Sydney, New South Wales.

This letter was dated Custom House, London, 23rd August, 1837.

As the Sydney officials were under the control of the London Board the above admitted of no reply and the correspondence closed. Whether the whaling station owners were ever told that the whole trouble was due to official ignorance is not known.

It will be noticed that the whole position of the exemption from duty is based upon the assumption that those who obtained the oil were British subjects, a position which did not exist in New Zealand owing to the general employment of Maoris at the settlements. In no case were the men of the stations members of the crews of British vessels. The tariff provided, if put into operation literally, would have killed the trade, and it is satisfactory to notice that there was sufficient legal ability in England, if not in Australia, to read an interpretation into the statute which rendered many of its injurious effects quite nugatory.

#### THE CLOUDY BAY OIL, 1835.

On 6th January, 1835, the schooner *Fortitude*, under the command of Robert Mackay, arrived at Sydney from the Bay of Islands, and three days later, Thomas Jeffry, landing waiter, reported to the Collector of Customs that he had seized on board of her 21 casks of black whale oil and 1 of sperm, in consequence of information received from New Zealand to the effect that the oil was not British caught, as alleged, but had been taken by five Englishmen serving on the American whaler *Erie*. In addition to the

information sent him preparatory to seizure, the casks in which the oil was contained were of American make.

The oil, it appears, was owned by James R. Clendon, who had purchased it at the Bay of Islands where it had been brought in the American whaler *Erie* from Cloudy Bay. It was alleged that the oil had been taken in Cloudy Bay by a party of Englishmen under John Moffat Chisholm, and that they had simply utilized the services of the *Erie* to get the oil transported to the Bay of Islands. In regard to the casks being of American make, it was urged that such fact alone did not warrant seizure, and application was made for permission to tranship the oil to casks of British make. It was also stated that a number of casks had been imported by the *Tybee*, of Salem, U.S.A., and after paying duty, had been forwarded to New Zealand with biscuits, to be returned with oil. Hence the use of American casks. If the oil could be classified as British, the duty would be £7 10s. If Foreign, £150. The loss if the oil was declared foreign would be £142 10s. The certificate produced under the Act was from the British Resident, and read thus:—

I certify that John Moffat Chisholm, a British subject, has this day appeared before me and declared that Twenty Casks containing about 3500 Three thousand five hundred Gallons more or less of Black Oil, which has been shipped at this place on board the Schooner *Fortitude* bound for Sydney, was taken by himself and five other British subjects at Cloudy Bay New Zealand and is therefore “British caught.”

JAMES BUSBY

British Resident.

Bay of Islands

New Zealand 20 Decr. 1834.

Information was given in Sydney to the Customs Officers that the oil was American caught. It was stated that the *Erie* was manned partly by Englishmen, and that the oil, or its equivalent, though taken by five Englishmen,



was taken by five men who, when they took it, were serving on board the American ship.

The oil was sold to a Mr. F. Mitchell, of the Kings Wharf, Sydney, and that gentleman applied for possession of it. On giving security to abide by the decision of the Board of Customs, London, the proceedings which were being commenced in the Vice-Admiralty Court were stayed, and the oil handed over. In advising London of the steps taken it was stated that further evidence would be obtained and forwarded.

On being applied to, Mr. Busby was unable to give any further information, and the Sydney authorities had reluctantly to advise London to that effect. In reply they were directed to cancel the bond.

From information handed in at a later date it was evident that Chisholm was whaling for the *Erie* in Cloudy Bay, and used American boats and tackle. He and his gang were paid according to lay, under an agreement made at the Bay of Islands before they came down. It was quite true that British subjects had procured the oil, but in so doing they were in American employment. The mistake made in Sydney was in taking the case out of the Vice-Admiralty Court and referring it to London for decision. At a trial the whole of the facts would have come out, the Court would have decided whether it was British or Foreign, and the oil would probably have been forfeited. The same thing would have resulted if the Declaration, instead of allowing the men to say that the oil was British caught, had stated how it was taken and left the officers to decide under what heading it should come in.

Doubtless great quantities of oil evaded the preferential tariff barrier in this way, and the only thing to be regretted is that the dishonest trader would evade the law and prosper, while the honest would observe it and suffer, all the while England paying dearer for her oil. The *Erie's* oil was British seamen's wages, and the preferential tariff was robbing the whaler of a substantial portion of his remuneration. In all the cases under this legislation which we have

investigated not one can be said to have benefited British trade, though the loss was cut down to a minimum by a very liberal interpretation of the statute.

#### THE GREENLAND WHALERS' COMPLAINT, 1838.

Whalebone, under the designation of whale fins, came under the legislation providing preferential duties in favour of British trade. The duty provided in this case was £1 per ton if British caught, and £95 per ton if Foreign.

In 1838 a Petition was presented to the Lords of the Treasury, from the merchants and shipowners interested in the Greenland and Davis Strait whaling, praying for an investigation of the condition of things prevailing in the whaling trade of the South Pacific. It stated that for a considerable time the signatories had seen whalebone received into London as British caught which bore evident marks of being American or Foreign, but, because it was accompanied by a British Certificate, it escaped a duty of £94 per ton. The petitioners suggested that British ships met those of America on the high seas and bought the whalebone, which was incorporated in the cargo and covered by the certificate. This applied to ships from Sydney and Hobart Town. The petitioners stated that the proportion of whalebone in the North and South should agree, while in the North 1 to 2 tons of bone were procured with every 100 tuns of oil, in 1837 the total importation from the South Pacific showed 5 tons of bone to 100 tuns of oil, by which alone £12000 of duty was lost. They asked that where the bone exceeded 2 per cent. of the oil it should be refused admission.

Copies of the Petition were at once forwarded to the Collectors of Customs at Sydney and Hobart Town for investigation.

The Sydney evidence challenged the statement that 1 to 2 tons of bone was a fair average, and contended that not less than 5 tons to every 100 tuns of oil was the proper amount.

The various elements which affected the proportion of oil and bone were stated to be:—

1. Whales were sometimes killed for the bone only, there being no casks for saving the oil.
2. Whales were sometimes found so long dead, either afloat or stranded on the shore, that only the bone could be saved.

The latter was very common in New Zealand, as great numbers of vessels were engaged, and the wounded whales died and were washed ashore.

The Hobart Town investigations were more complete than the Sydney, and the replies of the different whaling firms went to establish the following propositions:—

1. The whales when they first arrived were fat and yielded less than 5 per cent. of bone to oil. If they came late, and remained to September and October, they got much thinner and the proportion of bone to oil was more than 5 per cent.
2. Entire heads were sometimes lost through stress of weather, and then no bone at all was secured.
3. All but the bone was sometimes lost, by the "fish" becoming putrid, or being driven ashore out of reach.
4. Some oil was consumed in the Colonies, but all the bone was exported. This increased the proportion of bone.
5. The experience of 3 years with one owner, and 7 years with another, was that 5 per cent. of bone was procured.
6. One owner gave his figures for the New Zealand trade for the year 1835, as 7 tons of bone to 120 tuns of oil.

Dealing with the charge of British vessels purchasing whalebone from American, the Hobart Town Customs considered that the belief of the Petitioners on this point was wholly without foundation, as the crews were paid by "lays," which were a substantial part of the value of the bone, and they did not consider that the crews would give up their rights to their share of all bone procured, which would make it too costly for the owners.

In the light of the Sydney and Hobart Town information supplied to London, it is quite certain that the proportion of bone to oil was not from 1 to 2 per cent. The evidence everywhere was that it was about 5, and the figures of Weller's Establishment at Otago showed 1 to 21 or very nearly 5. But while that was so, it is equally certain that bone was purchased from the Americans. In the New Bedford Library, in the log of the American whaler, *Tuscaloosa*, for 1836, and while the vessel was whaling in Cloudy Bay, the following entries are to be seen:—

Sunday, August 28, 1836.

“Sold 200lbs. whale Bone to an English Brig.”

Wednesday, August 31, 1836.

“Sold 250lbs. bone to an English ship.”

No argument or reasoning can overcome the evidence of such entries. The English vessels purchased the American whalebone when they wanted to, and probably got over the difficulty with the men by giving them a small allowance. After a long voyage the prospect of getting home sooner would prepare the crew to allow the vessel to be at once filled, provided a correspondingly early start was made for home. The English Petitioners had not definite enough information at hand and they made the mistake of setting out to prove too much.

There might have been added to the reasons given above which determined the proportion of bone to oil, the case of whales being driven ashore and the natives securing the bone and selling it to the whaling ships. This was a common practice. The capture of the *Lord Rodney* by the natives was preceded by negotiations for the purchase of whalebone which the natives had procured, and whalebone also figured at the capture of the *Active* shortly afterwards. This was all Foreign bone, quite as much as if bought from the Americans, but it all seems to have been put away as British bone, and covered by the one certificate.

Whether this preferential tariff that we have discussed, had the effect of reducing American competition, can be gathered by a perusal of the chapters which deal with the American whalers on our coast.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### OTAGO TRADE, 1839 AND 1840.

When the year 1838 closed, the *Dublin Packet* was on the New Zealand coast, and had made for Weller's stations by the somewhat unusual route of Cook Strait, calling at Kapiti Island and Cloudy Bay, to discharge cargo which she had on board for both these places. Having disposed of her northern cargo she proceeded to Waikouaiti and Otago for oil, 34 tuns of which she took in at the former station, and 40 at the latter. At Otago she also took on board the celebrated chief Taiaroa who, accompanied by his attendant, "Tom Bowling," was going on a trip to Sydney. At Otago the American whaler, *Sarah Frances*, was refreshing when Captain Mills arrived. She had on board 1160 barrels of black oil and 70 of sperm. The *Dublin Packet* sailed on 21st January and reached Sydney on 1st February.

"Johnny" Jones made a commencement for the 1839 season by sending the *Magnet* away from Sydney on 17th January with 36 men on board of her to man his southern stations. These had now increased in number to seven, six of which were 32 men stations and one of 42 men. These last particulars were supplied by Jones to the Collector of Customs at Sydney, when applying for permission to ship tobacco and liquor for the use of his men and for trade with the natives. The seven stations were situated and managed as under:—

| Station.      | Manager.        |
|---------------|-----------------|
| Preservation  | Simon McKenzie. |
| Jacob's River | John Howell.    |
| Bluff         | James Spencer.  |
| "             | Wm. Stirling.   |
| "             | James Joss.     |
| Waikouaiti    | Edwin Palmer.   |
| Moeraki       | John Hughes.    |

Weller followed Jones as soon as he could get the *Dublin Packet* away, which was not until 19th February. No less than 59 whalers were sent down on this occasion to the stations under the control of this firm—the Otago and the Taieri.

It was during the first trip of the *Magnet* to Jones' whaling stations that Captain Bruce heard of the visit of the Enderby Expedition to Chalky Inlet, Preservation Bay, and Stewart Island, and brought the news to Sydney. From him we learn that the runaway boat was never heard of, which makes the list of those who lost their lives in this Expedition a very long one. Bruce reported the American whaler, *South Boston*, of Fairhaven, G. Butler, master, out 9 months, at Patterson's River, with 1900 barrels. In addition to a cargo of 45 tuns of oil, 9½ tons of whalebone, and 3 casks of seal skins the *Magnet* brought to Sydney the passengers who had come in the American whaler, *Gratitude*, from King George Sound to Stewart Island, during the latter part of the previous year. The *Magnet* sailed from New Zealand on 10th March and reached Sydney 14 days later.

The traffic of Jones' whaling stations had now increased so much in volume that the *Magnet*, a vessel of only 148 tons, was unable to cope with it, and the *Jessie*, a barque of 315 tons, was purchased, put under the command of the veteran Captain Bruce, and sent off to New Zealand on 17th April. The *Magnet* was, in the meantime, sent to the Bay of Islands.

June proved a disastrous month for Weller. On the sixth the *Dublin Packet*, with 43 tuns of oil, 1 ton of bone, 6 tons of potatoes, and some stores for the Taieri whaling station, sailed from Otago to deliver the stores and take in a cargo of oil. On the ninth she arrived opposite the station. After bringing up it fell calm, with a heavy rolling sea into the bay. The vessel was moored with both anchors ahead, and a rope attached to each to enable them to slip and make sail on the vessel should the wind set on to the land. At dusk the watch on deck informed the captain

that the vessel was drifting. Captain Wells immediately hastened on deck and found that such was indeed the case. Both cables were paid out to the bare ends, but the heavy rollers, which began to break on the shore, carried the vessel with fearful rapidity towards the reef, on which she struck with great force, the sea making a complete breach over her. A musket was fired to rouse the men ashore to obtain assistance, and after endeavouring to launch a boat off the deck, in the doing of which the captain broke his arm, the crew took to the rigging. Here they hung to the shrouds until the mainmast went over the side. In the struggle to get ashore George Nicholson, the second mate, William Higgins, the steward, and James Clark Cole, an American sailor from the *Favourite*, of Fairhaven, were drowned. The last named had become deranged and was being sent as a passenger to Sydney to the Asylum there, to the care of the American Consul. Although a boat gallantly put off from the beach its occupants were unable to render any assistance. At daybreak next day not a vestige of the wreck was to be seen where she struck. A portion of the vessel had got washed over the reef, and, with 10 tuns of oil in casks, strewed the beach far and near. The body of the steward was found and interred.

After this fearful catastrophe the crew made their way to Otago where they found the *Jessie* at anchor. Captain Bruce rendered them every assistance. Mr. Weller had taken his passage in the *Dublin Packet*, to gauge the oil at the Taieri, and twice he went to sea, but on both occasions the vessel had to put back through adverse winds. On the third occasion Weller walked overland, and thus avoided the risk of drowning, which would have been a very substantial one. The insurances were £1200 and £2000, and the wreck was afterwards purchased by Mr. George Weller for £4 10s. It was not until the middle of August that word of the calamity reached Sydney.

The *Favourite*, of Fairhaven, mentioned here, was at Akaroa on 20th June. It is probable, therefore, that the

*Dublin Packet* had come down from the north and had picked up the unfortunate American sailor at Banks Peninsula.

During the month of June, in Sydney, a Customs Regulation Bill was before the Legislative Council, and a Committee was set up to consider the state of the law in connection with the whaling trade of New Zealand. Before that Committee both Jones and Weller gave evidence regarding their stations.

Jones' evidence on 6th July was as follows:—

“I have seven Whaling Establishments at New Zealand on which about 280 men are employed. My outlay this year in casks, provisions, slops, and whaling gear, has been £15,000; those articles were all either of British or Colonial manufacture. If New Zealand caught oil be treated in future as foreign caught, I shall be obliged to break up my establishments, or compelled to trade entirely with the Americans, from whom I should receive all the supplies required at my stations, giving them my oil in return.

“I am of opinion that it has been a practice to smuggle spirits and tobacco returned from New Zealand, but several of the parties having been detected, it is now given up nearly altogether.

“There is a large quantity of spirits consumed at the Bay of Islands in the supply of the numerous whaling vessels which call there to refit, but I cannot say how much. Besides what is sent from Sydney, there are occasionally whole cargoes of spirits and tobacco landed there direct from America. One in particular has lately come from thence to Mr. Clendon, a British subject, resident at the Bay of Islands.

“If I had supposed that it was in contemplation to levy a duty on oil caught at New Zealand, I certainly would not have embarked in the business at all, as besides the disadvantage, the risk of



property there, from various causes, is very much greater than it would be here. So much did I look upon New Zealand as a British settlement that I have even sent cattle there lately.

“My men sign Articles in Sydney; the quantity of spirits supplied to them is in the same proportion as in other establishments and I send down no more than is requisite. Tobacco is supplied in a larger proportion as besides British subjects I employ a great number of natives who smoke largely.

“I have no apprentices as we find great difficulty in getting boys to go as such, even in our whaling ships.

“The stations generally occupied are purchased from the Native Chiefs, and are mostly from five to ten miles square from the beach.

“A Chief, who was in Sydney last year, sold me a quantity of land, full twenty miles square, for which I gave him property to the amount of £500. He understood English thoroughly, and the transaction was regularly drawn up by a lawyer in Sydney, and duly executed and signed by the Chief. I am satisfied with the Title, as I know him to be the acknowledged Chief of a large district, of which that land is a portion.

“The Whaling Trade at New Zealand has increased so much of late, that I expect there will be nearly double the quantity of oil taken there this year that there was in the last.

“About 1000 tuns of oil were taken in 1838, and in this year I expect, from the increased force down there, that not less than 2000 or 2500 tuns will be taken, which will give at least 100 tons of bone.”

George Weller's evidence, given on 8th July, was as follows:—

“I have made some considerable purchases of land at New Zealand—in all, I imagine, amounting to about four hundred thousand acres—all of which

I purchased from the Chiefs. Attached to one of my whaling stations is about thirty-six square miles or sections, which my brother, who is residing at New Zealand, purchased from a Chief who was in Sydney about five months ago, and who had the honour of an interview with His Excellency the Governor, in whose presence he acknowledged the validity of the purchase."

This same month "Johnny" Jones made a still further addition to his fleet by the purchase of the *Success*, which he despatched on the twenty-eighth, under the command of Captain Catlin, for a cargo of oil and bone.

By 3rd August the *Jessie* had completed her circuit of the various stations, and had left Foveaux Strait for Sydney. On board of her were the captain and the survivors of the crew of the *Dublin Packet*, and a substantial cargo of 190 tuns of black oil, 2 tuns of sperm, 4 tons of whalebone, 6 tons of potatoes, and a cask of seal skins. Her passengers were Messrs. Cooper, Harvey, and James Spencer. She reached Sydney on 16th August.

It was reported in Sydney in the beginning of August that Mr. Weller had a scheme on hand to locate about 50 families upon the lands he had purchased at Otago. These would be the areas stated by him, in his evidence before the Committee of the Legislature, to have been purchased "from a Chief who was in Sydney about five months ago." This was Taiaroa, who came up from Otago in the *Dublin Packet* on 1st February. A number of mechanics and others were said to have expressed a desire to emigrate to Southern New Zealand, on account of its reputed fertility, and the friendliness of the natives, many of whom were employed by Mr. Weller. It was also stated, at the same time, that "Johnny" Jones intended to stock the land he had purchased.

Not long after the *Jessie* was round, the *Magnet* called in at the Bluff and found there no less than six American whalers: the *General Williams*, the *Margaret Rait*, the *William Hamilton*, the *Amethyst*, the *Magellan*, and the *Roman*.

She reported the *Success* at Success River (Waikawa), when she passed. On 9th September the *Magnet* sailed from Preservation with 76 tuns of oil, 4 tons of bone, and 20 men of Jones' whaling gangs. She reached Sydney on the seventeenth and reported that five men were lost at Jones' station in July, by the capsizing of two boats. At Mr. Weller's station she reported 60 tuns of oil to be lying.

Of the Americans, which the captain of the *Magnet* reported at the Bluff, the *Margaret Rait* sailed for the whaling grounds in July; the *William Hamilton*, with 500 barrels, on 29th August; the *Roman*, with 1500 barrels, on 1st September; and the *General Williams* was still at the Bluff on 12th September. That was the information brought up by the *Success* when she sailed from Preservation on 4th October. Her voyage to Sydney took 16 days, and she brought 52 tuns of oil, 2 tons of bone, and a whaling gang of 23 men.

The next vessel bound for an Otago station was the bark *Honduras*, a vessel of rather larger size than was in the habit of visiting the whaling stations to transport the oil to Sydney. She measured 392 tons, and it was intended that she should sail for England, on her return. It is possible, therefore, that her charterer—Weller—had in view that she should get part of a London load at the various stations and simply complete her cargo on arrival at Sydney. This would comply with the law regarding the importation of New Zealand caught oil into the Port of London. She sailed on 5th August, and, after loading up what was available at Otago, made for Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound before returning to Sydney. Her cargo on her return on 5th November was:—

|       |      |      |     |      |       |     |      |          |     |                |
|-------|------|------|-----|------|-------|-----|------|----------|-----|----------------|
| 147   | tuns | oil, | 9   | tons | bone, | 20  | tons | potatoes | ... | Weller         |
| 56    | do.  | 3    | do. |      |       |     |      |          |     | R. Duke & Co.  |
| 53    | do.  | 3½   | do. |      |       |     |      |          |     | A. McGaa & Co. |
| <hr/> |      |      |     |      |       |     |      |          |     |                |
| 256   |      |      |     |      |       | 15½ |      |          |     |                |

The big Otago consignment was due to the congestion caused there by the wreck of the *Dublin Packet*. She

reported the brig *Christina* as being at "Wykaka" on 16th October, intending to sail therefrom the following day for the South Cape. "Wykaka" would suggest Waikouaiti or Waikawa, but as the *Honduras* was at Te Awaiti on this date is is probably the Waikawa of Kapiti which is intended, as J. C. Crawford mentions a Captain Munn being at Kapiti and Mana about this date, and Munn was the captain of the *Christina*.

It may be mentioned here that while the *Honduras* was at Cloudy Bay, and later on at Te Awaiti, the New Zealand Company's ship *Tory* arrived from Port Nicholson with Colonel Wakefield on board to select the site of the Company's settlement.

Fourteen days after Weller's boat arrived with her huge cargo of oil, "Johnny" Jones sent up one almost as large in the *Jessie*—245 tuns of oil, 22 tons of bone, and 300 baskets of potatoes—from the owner's whaling stations. Amongst her passengers were: E. Palmer, and W. Stirling, overseers of two of Jones' whaling stations, J. Price, H. Sergeant, J. Riley, J. Glen, and a whaling gang of 30 men.

Captain Bruce reported meeting the *Henry Freeling*, windbound at Whitecover (a spot the author has been unable to locate), and bound for Otago. This vessel had sailed on 3rd September for a cargo of potatoes from Otago, and Mr. Schultze had gone down in her as a passenger. It is doubtful whether she ever succeeded in reaching Otago as word came to Sydney towards the end of January, 1840, that she had been wrecked "four months since" at Tautuku, a new station just established under Wm. Palmer. Fortunately no lives were lost, and the crew sailed round to Otago in their boats.

The *Jessie* went down on her last voyage of the year, on 21st December, taking with her to Jones' whaling stations, Messrs. Palmer, Stirling, Wilson, Glen, Rowey, Moor, Cooper, wife and child, Rogers, Lowry, Hood, Lowe, and two New Zealanders.

Captain Bruce reported that 40 boats fully manned and equipped for war had left the "Bouca" (Ruapuke), bound



for the northward. This was the expedition under Tuhawaiki, and Taiaroa, which was afterwards to figure at Hempleman's whaling station *en route* for Cook Strait.

The following table gives the particulars of the oil cargoes from Otago stations to Sydney during 1839:—

| Vessel.                    | Tons. | Captain. | Arrival. | Tuns. |
|----------------------------|-------|----------|----------|-------|
| <i>Dublin Packet</i> * ... | 108   | Wells    | Feb. 1   | 74    |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...          | 148   | Bruce    | Mar. 24  | 45    |
| <i>Dublin Packet</i> ...   | 108   | Wells    | Wrecked  | —     |
| <i>Jessie</i> ...          | 315   | Bruce    | Aug. 16  | 190   |
| <i>Magnet</i> ...          | 148   | Watt     | Sep. 17  | 76    |
| <i>Success</i> ...         | 82    | Catlin   | Oct. 20  | 52    |
| <i>Honduras</i> * ...      | 392   | Weller   | Nov. 9   | 256   |
| <i>Henry Freeling</i> ...  | 91    | Fisher   | Wrecked  | —     |
| <i>Jessie</i> ...          | 315   | Bruce    | Nov. 19  | 245   |
| <i>Christina</i> * ...     | 126   | Munn     | Dec. 21  | 80    |
|                            |       |          |          | 1018  |

\* Indicates *via* Cook Strait.

The total of 1018 tuns should be reduced by 109, obtained by the *Honduras* in Cook St., making 909, less what the *Christina* obtained, if any, in Cook Strait.

#### 1840.

The beginning of 1840 saw big changes initiated in regard to New Zealand. The boundaries of New South Wales were extended to include such parts of New Zealand as were, or might be, acquired, and these were placed under the control of Governor Gipps and his Legislature, with Captain Hobson, late of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, as Lieutenant-Governor.

Captain Hobson had no sooner left Sydney for the Bay of Islands than Governor Gipps issued two Proclamations to give effect to the above changes, and one other dealing with the buying and selling of land which had been going on very extensively in the new Colony. This last declared that Her Majesty would not acknowledge as valid "any title to land which either has been or shall be hereafter acquired in that

country, which is not either derived from or confirmed by a grant to be made in Her Majesty's name," but that it was not intended to dispossess the owners of land purchased on equitable conditions, for the consideration of which a Commission would be appointed.

The *Success*, which had sailed for the Otago ports, *viâ* Port Nicholson, left that port on 4th January, and the Bluff on the tenth, and reached Sydney on the twenty-seventh. As passengers, came up Messrs. Jones and Heskett, and five New Zealand Chiefs. The captain reported that the *Jessie* had reached New Zealand on 26th December, and was loading at the Bluff when the *Success* left. The barque *Lucy Ann* had sailed from Otago to the Taieri station to load up with oil for Sydney, and there were two French whalers at Otago.

These Chiefs, passengers on board the *Success*, had all taken part in the sale of land to Europeans. Both Jones (the owner of the boat they had come up in), and Weller (the owner of the Otago station), were largely interested in these purchases, and were no doubt very much concerned when the Proclamation came out. A deputation was therefore arranged with the Governor, and on 31st December, John Tuhawaiki, Jackey White, and three other subordinate chiefs waited upon Sir George Gipps to enquire whether the Government intended to dispossess certain parties who had purchased land from them, and whose claim, they, the native chiefs, acknowledged. Instead of answering them directly, as some thought he should have done, His Excellency suggested, "with a chuckle," as the report says, that the real reason for their visit was not so much on behalf of the natives' interest as it was a diplomatic manoeuvre on the part of the European purchasers of their lands, in their own interests. The result of this deputation was not entirely to the mind of its promoters, and it is reported that when they retired, one of the Chiefs expressed himself about His Excellency: "The Gubbernar no good." Probably if the correct words of "Bloody Jack" were given the description was even more emphatic.

Of course Governor Gipps was quite right when he suggested that the deputation was put forward by interested Europeans. Whether their visit to Sydney was brought about by the land purchasers of the South Island is open to doubt but when they arrived in Sydney, just as the Proclamation had come out, and three days after Captain Hobson had sailed for the Bay of Islands to bring about the proclamation of British Sovereignty, there is no doubt that the land buyers, who were then organized into an Association, took advantage of their presence there to urge on the Governor that the contents of the Proclamation were an insult to the Maori Chiefs. It was too patent to escape the notice of the most "official."

The *Lucy Ann*, which the *Success* had reported as sailing from Otago for Taieri, left the Port of Otago on 28th January, with 71 tuns of black oil, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons whalebone. She brought back Mr. Schultze, who had gone down in the *Henry Freeling*, Cureton, Harewood, Eager, Captain Fisher and four of the crew of the *Henry Freeling*, and a whaling gang of 22 men. On the same day—10th February—the *Jessie*, which had left New Zealand on 31st January, brought up 50 tuns of oil, 32 cwt. of flax, 18 cwt. whalebone, 127 seal skins and 400 bundles of flags. The *Jessie* was now taken off the coast trade and put on the South Sea Fisheries.

At Otago, during the month of February, an incident happened which threw the whole settlement into a state of extreme excitement. The son of a chief named Bogana retired on board a whaler, which lay at anchor in the bay, and remained drinking for some time. He was very drunk when he came ashore. About an hour after his arrival, and before the effects of his drinking bout had worn off, he went to the house of a man named James Brown, but becoming very abusive, was ordered out. Refusing to go, harsh measures had to be employed, and, in the scuffle, a pane of glass was broken and a piece of it struck the Chief. This roused his indignation and he hurried to his house, armed himself with a loaded musket, and returned to Mr. Brown's house. When he presented

the gun at Mr. Brown, a man, who was standing near, pushed the gun to one side, and the contents were lodged in a young man, a carpenter, who had formerly belonged to the *Mechanic*, of New Brunswick, killing him almost at once. When Mr. Weller learned of it he had the murderer confined and a guard set over him. Shortly afterwards a loaded musket was passed in to the Maori, by some one unknown to the guard, and, getting his wife to sit behind him, the Maori put the muzzle to his breast, and his toe to the trigger, and one shot ended the lives of both.

The unfortunate thing was that two perished, and the Maoris, thinking that satisfaction should be obtained for the death of the wife, turned their attention to a scheme for revenge. Brown grew so alarmed at the local feeling that he pleaded with D'Urville the commander of the *Astrolabe*, when in Port Otago, to take him away. In view of the circumstances, and of the fact that he was a good Maori linguist, the French Commander gave him and his wife a passage to the Bay of Islands.

The *Success* was the only vessel which sailed for Otago in February. She sailed on the twenty-first, and took Dr. North, J. J. Lowry, J. Emery, and a whaling gang of 15 men.

The following month—March—another tragedy was enacted in Foveaux Strait. A man named John McGregor built a small vessel at Port William, Stewart Island, to trade among the different settlements on that coast. On the seventeenth the vessel arrived at the Island of Ruapuke, from whence McGregor took away three men and three women slaves belonging to a chief named Robulla, and left one of his own men ashore. The Chief, having shortly afterwards learned what had taken place, with about 50 of his men armed with tomahawks, seized the poor unfortunate individual who had been left behind, and in a few minutes had him chopped into pieces and devoured. The poor victim pleaded that he might be spared until Tuhawaiki's return from Sydney, but so eager were the fiends to get at him that they would not allow themselves time to take the clothes off his body.



McGregor appears to have made his way north. To escape bad weather he ran into Port Nicholson one evening and was surprised to find himself in the midst of an European Settlement of over a thousand people. He had some natives belonging to Wanganui on board, and these he was *en route* to land at their home, and, with the pigs and potatoes he was to be paid for his services, he intended to return to the south and trade. These were probably the slaves he had run off with. As a result of this incident he named his 30 ton schooner the *Surprise*, and E. J. Wakefield chartered her to take him to Wanganui, on which voyage he sailed on 14th May.

On 12th March, "Johnny" Jones sent down in the *Magnet* the first regular shipload of settlers to Otago. They comprised T. Jones, wife and family, Dr. Carney, wife and family, Messrs. G. Glover, B. and W. Coleman, C. Flower, T. Pascoe, W. Kenny, J. Beale, J. Street, F. Prior, and families, W. George, J. Hughes, W. Trotter, J. Reid, W. Johnstone, and five New Zealand Chiefs. The five Chiefs were evidently the same men who had come up in the *Success* and who had the celebrated interview with Governor Gipps. In addition to her stores of flour, tea, sugar, biscuits, &c., she took down 20 head of cattle. The European passengers were going down to establish an agricultural settlement near Waikouaiti.

About the end of March appears a notification of what is probably the first auction sale of land in the South Island. The estates were on the banks of the Maitara and were set out in the following advertisement.

#### NEW ZEALAND ESTATES.

Mr. Samuel Lyons is instructed to sell by auction at his Temporary Rooms George Street. This Day, March 27, at eleven o'clock precisely—

Twelve important Estates on the banks of the River Tetowis in the Middle Island of New Zealand having a frontage of one mile to the River, by twenty miles in depth, and containing twenty Sections, or twelve thousand eight hundred acres each lot.

The Tetowis is a River of considerable magnitude which empties itself into Foveaux Strait, and is within three or four miles of the secure and well-known harbour of "The Bluff," in and around which several whaling establishments have been for some time established, it is likewise in the vicinity of Jacobs River, where several large estates have been lately purchased, and improvements commenced. In fact, the fine harbours on the coast, the richness of the soil, and level character of the country, leave no doubt that it will become one of the most thriving positions in New Zealand.

The land was purchased from Towack, Chief of the Southern parts of New Zealand, and duly conveyed by deed of Feoffment, dated 8th December, 1838, and therefore comes within the proclamation.

The original title deeds are left with the Auctioneers for inspection, and the purchaser will receive a conveyance in conformity therewith; the buyers will be let into immediate possession of the land upon payment of the purchase money.

Terms at time of sale.

The Tetowis is the Toetoes, the Mataura River, the former name being given to the district at its mouth, and it is not incorrect to describe it now as "one of the most thriving positions in New Zealand." The price realised at the sale was seven pence per acre.

On 30th March Otago was visited by D'Urville's Expedition, and the *Astrolabe* and the *Zélée* remained in the harbour until 3rd April, when they sailed for Akaroa. Their movements, however, can better be described under another heading. While D'Urville was in port, there were also there the *Havre*, sailing under his own flag, and two Americans and one British vessel, the names of which he did not record.

When Captain Bruce landed his pioneer settlement he reported that Otago had been filled with shipping during the month of May. Up to the twentieth, when he sailed,

the *Fanny*, the *Columbus*, the *Anne Maria*, and the *Newton*, of America, and the *Havre*, the *Earnest*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Oriental*, and the *Rabance* of France, had all been there. At the Bluff the *Magnet* left, on her return, the *Alexander Barclay* of America, and at Horse Shoe Bay, on the twenty-third, a Portuguese vessel called the *Adventur*, 19 months out, and with 3500 barrels on board. This was the second Portuguese whaler, the other—the *Speculacao*—having been at the Auckland Islands in March.

The *Sarah and Elizabeth* which Weller had chartered to take down cattle to Otago, and which had left Sydney on 24th March, sailed from Otago on her return journey the same day as the *Magnet*—20th May. Four days afterwards she was spoken by the *Magnet* off Stewart Island and the two were in company almost the whole road to Sydney.

On 3rd June the *Magnet* arrived with Messrs. George. Murphy, Green, Dyer, and Williams, as passengers, and a cargo of 78 tuns of black oil, and 2 tons of whalebone. On 5th June Catlin brought up the *Success* from Kawhia. She had also been at Otago earlier in the year. On 6th June the *Sarah and Elizabeth* arrived with a cargo of potatoes. The next day British Sovereignty was proclaimed at Stewart Island, and on the thirteenth H.M.S. *Herald*, called in to obtain the signature of the Otago Chiefs to the Treaty. Four days afterwards the Middle Island was formally proclaimed.

So bad had the whaling season proved that, up to this date, not a single whale had been secured by the gangs at Otago, the first being secured there on 8th July. Indifferent success was the experience of the other stations as well. The explanation given of this failure was the great number of vessels on the coast and the growing enterprise of officers and crews in following the fish to their resorts in the bays and inlets. They so "gallied" the poor brutes that those which survived forsook their long established rendezvous, to seek new grounds for food, and to bring forth their young in peace.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### COOK STRAIT AND CHATHAM ISLAND, 1839 AND 1840.

When we left Cook Strait at the end of 1838, the *Skerne* and the *Hannah* were upon the coast. The latter, after leaving Hempleman's on Boxing Day, sailed to Cook Strait and Kapiti Island, which latter place she left on 29th January, 1839, for Sydney, encountering strong westerly weather which detained her until 20th February. She brought up 25 tuns of oil,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of whalebone, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of flax. Messrs. Ferraby and Allan, and 5 New Zealanders, came up as passengers.

Captain Hay now left the *Hannah* to superintend the outfit of another vessel which his owner was building, and Leathart, of the *Edward*, took the *Hannah* down to New Zealand on 6th March, with a cargo of whaling stores and a gang of 36 men. She reached Piraki on 1st April, and landed £541 worth of stores at Hempleman's station, leaving again on the seventh. When she reached Sydney on 29th May, her cargo was a miscellaneous one of pork, pigs, flax, potatoes, and whalebone, consigned to W. Wright, and McGaa. She reported that when she left New Zealand on 15th May, there were, at Cloudy Bay, the American whalers *Warren*, *Luminary*, *Merrimac*, *Fortune*, *Erie*, *Navy*, *Adeline*, and *Valiant*.

On 8th March the *Harlequin*, under the command of Captain Kyle, left Sydney with a whaling gang of 17 men, and 7 New Zealanders. While at Kapiti the American whaler, *China*, was at anchor, and the *Duchess of Kent*, on her road from Sydney to London, obliged, through stress of weather, to run through Cook Strait, sent one of her boats to the *Harlequin* with mail matter for Sydney. The *Harlequin*, after leaving Cook Strait, went on to the Bay of Plenty, and her voyage from there to Sydney occupied from 5th to 26th August. The schooner



belonged to Mr. Isaac Simmonds, but, on her return to Sydney, she was purchased by Mr. John Isaacs for £1300, and advertised for the Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound trade.

In June Mr. Wright chartered the *Siren*, and on 5th July he sent her away for a cargo of oil under the command of Captain Bradley, with Captain Hay as supercargo. The passenger list included the names of Wearing, J. Guard, Mrs. Guard and three children. The Guard family were evidently returning to their home at Kakapo. The *Siren* reached Hempleman's station on 13th August, and remained there until the twenty-ninth, unloading goods and loading oil. The Piraki books show that she left goods to the value of £772 11s. 10d., and took away 77 tuns 5 gallons of oil, and 6 tons 13 cwt. 3 qrs. and 17 lbs. of bone. The oil was classed into two grades valued at £16 and £12 per tun, and the bone was put down at £70 per ton. After leaving Piraki, the *Siren* made for Kapiti and finished her loading there, sailing on 13th September for Sydney, where she arrived on the twenty-seventh. A few days before she reached Sydney, Mr. Wright, her charterer, purchased her from Mr. D. Egan for £1,600. Although she shipped 6½ tons of whalebone at Piraki, and got loading at Kapiti as well, she is credited with only 3 tons of that article on reaching Sydney. It would look as if she found a market in Cook Strait among some of the ocean whalers.

The *Siren* was the first vessel to report in Sydney the arrival of the New Zealand Company's ship, the *Tory*, and she was probably the "small schooner bound to Sydney" on board of which, on 1st September, Wakefield put his first despatches from New Zealand.

In these despatches from Te Awaiti, Colonel Wakefield mentioned that he would send the specimens and drawings by a vessel expected from the southward in a fortnight. This was the *Honduras*, which had sailed from Sydney on 5th August, to gather up a cargo for her journey to England, a plan adopted by several of Weller's ships. After leaving Otago (p. 280), she sailed for Cloudy

Bay, and was there when the *Tory* came over from Port Nicholson on 4th October, and took Wakefield's letters and specimens, as he had intended. From Cloudy Bay she sailed for Te Awaiti, and, when entering the Sound, on 12th October, struck on a rock and narrowly escaped shipwreck. When got safely to anchor she was making eight inches of water per hour. In spite of her mishap she reached Sydney on 5th November with 109 tuns of oil, and 6¼ tons of bone from the Cook Strait stations, consigned to R. Duke & Co., and A. McGaa & Co.

A day or two before the *Honduras* sailed from Cloudy Bay, a small Sydney schooner, called the *Susannah Ann*, came in to take oil from the station carried on by Mr. John, a Portuguese, for a house in Sydney. This station was just inside the eastern head. The *Susannah Ann* had sailed from Kapiti on 1st October, leaving there the *Harlequin*, bound for Sydney on the seventh, the *Fair Barbadian* having sailed for East Cape on 26th September.

Captain Weller reported that the brig *Christina* was at "Waikaka" on 16th October, intending to sail therefrom the following day for the South Cape. This was probably intended for Waikawa, where Tamaiharanui was killed (p. 32), as Captain Munn was at Kapiti when Mr. J. C. Crawford arrived there, from Sydney, in November.

The second trip of the *Siren* was duly advertised, and passengers invited by W. Wright, for "Cooks Straits, Queen Charlotte Sound, Cloudy Bay and Port Nicholson." The last-named place, however, there is no evidence of her having reached. Although she only arrived at Sydney on 27th September she got to sea again on 13th October under the command of Captain Watson, and with two passengers, Frazer and Henderson. She reached Kapiti on 22nd October, while Colonel Wakefield was there negotiating with the Natives for the purchase of their lands. A howling north-wester was blowing, and the captain, who was ignorant of the locality and short of hands as well, endeavoured to beat up to the Island. Evans put off in a whaling boat to give assistance, but was prevented by their

bad management from getting on board, and had to pull back three miles to the shore. When the storm lulled, and the brig got to an anchor in the evening, it was found that she had no binnacle, and only a boat compass, no second suit of sails, a boat not seaworthy, a broken windlass, no chronometer, and her passengers starving. She had great numbers of deeds sent down to agents to complete purchases of land from the Natives, and the captain reported that there was great excitement among the land-buying fraternity in Sydney, on account of the Company's movements.

The *Siren* reached Piraki on 17th November, landing there goods to the value of £190 10s. 8d., and sailed again on the twenty-sixth with 77 tons 247 gallons of oil, and 2 tons 16 cwt. 11 lbs. of bone.

Shortly before the *Siren's* arrival at Piraki, the whaling station was thrown into a state of intense excitement by the arrival of Tuhawaiki's Expedition against Te Rau-paraha. On 30th October a boat's crew went round to Little River, about seven miles from Piraki. One of Hempleman's lads was a Cook Strait boy. While at Little River 16 sealing and 4 whale boats arrived from the southward, all fully armed and manned, under Tuhawaiki, the Ruapuke warrior. The crew of the Piraki boat were at once made prisoners of, and the Cook Strait boy killed and eaten. Next day they killed a girl of their own party and ate her. The five Europeans were kept prisoners on the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, when they were brought to Piraki by Tuhawaiki. One report of the incident says that the Maoris were consulting among themselves whether they would kill the Europeans or not, when Tuhawaiki and Taiaroa asked the other Chiefs how could they ever go back to Sydney if they killed these white men. They then released the prisoners.

Hempleman's journal states that Tuhawaiki asked for the big boat as payment for the place and that the Captain gave it to him "with 3 New Sails." This is the entry under date 3rd November. The report, which was brought up in

the *Siren* to Sydney, makes no mention of any purchase, but simply says "they also took by force another whale-boat."

When prosecuting his land claims in 1843 Hempleman produced a document which read as follows:—

November 2nd 1839.

This is to certify that Captain Hempleman has purchased the extent of land from Bloody Jack as undermentioned:—From Mowry Harbor south to Flea Bay north, including Wangoolou, as agreed by the undermentioned, viz., by payment of one big boat, by name the *Mary Ann*, including two sails and jib. Extent of land fifteen miles east, south island.

|                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| John Tuhawaikē      | Toby X Partridge        |
| Jackey X White      | Allon X Tommy Roundhead |
| Tyroa X             | Kikaroree X             |
| Walkatouree X Ahane | King John X             |
| Jacky Bay X Bangana | X                       |

Witnessed by Simon Crawley, Jack X Miller, Alfred Roberts, James X Creed.

On examining the Journal it will be seen that 2nd November was the date the land was bought off, and the third the date on which mention is made of the purchase.

Two Europeans who accompanied the Maoris from Otago joined Hempleman's gangs.

On the day the *Siren* arrived, "Jackey White" arrived with four boats, and Captain Hay demanded the man who killed the Maori boy. There was every indication of trouble, and every man seized what weapon was nearest him, but after some discussion it was decided to let the matter drop. The *Siren* account says that the Southern Natives alleged that they had lost two sealing boats and had taken the lad in satisfaction for them. They offered Captain Hay 2 tons of whalebone not to report their conduct at Sydney.

We now come to the period when the first cattle stations were established in Canterbury. In September Cooper and Holt of Sydney purchased a barque of 152



tuns called the *Elcanor*, for £1700, and, on 19th October she sailed under the command of Captain Rhodes, with 40 head of cattle on board. Amongst these were some intended for Akaroa. The following passengers sailed in her:—Captain and Mrs. Cole and child, Mr. and Mrs. Green and child, and Messrs. Coglin, T. Green, and Mrs. Burton. Mr. and Mrs. Green, and one of the others, went down to take charge of the cattle that were destined for Akaroa. The *Elcanor* proceeded, first of all, to Kapiti, where Captain Rhodes procured refreshment for his stock, and probably, landed some of his passengers. He made the Island on 29th October, with the loss of only three of the animals. While she was lying at anchor the *Falcon* was there also, and, when the latter sailed for Sydney on 6th November, with a cargo of 84 tuns of oil, and with Mr. Evans and 25 whalers on board, Captain Rhodes was booked to sail for Akaroa on the following day. He probably did so, because Hempleman tells us that, at 9 a.m. on 12th November, there arrived at Piraki, “J. Robinson from Wangooloa (Akaroa) with news of a Vessel in there.” This news was considered so important that Hempleman and a boat’s crew left at 10 a.m. for Akaroa, returning on the fifteenth and going back to Akaroa on the sixteenth. It is only a surmise of the author, but it looks as if Captain Rhodes had sent for Hempleman to come round and help with the landing of the cattle and the establishment of the “station.”

The *Siren*, after the Piraki incident, left New Zealand on 9th December and took 12 days to run across to Sydney. She landed 88 tuns of oil, and 3 tons of bone, and, as passengers, Captain Hay, Roberts, and a whaling gang of 13 men.

On 5th November the *Success* sailed from Sydney and reached Kapiti on the twenty-sixth. Among her passengers were Mr. and Mrs. R. Tod and children, Messrs Hasket, T. Jones, Taylor, Rea, J. C. Crawford, H. Sinclair, Elmslie, and R. Jenkins. At Kapiti, J. C. Crawford, and Sinclair, who was in his employ, left the *Success* and went with

Captain Munn, on board the *Christina*, to Mana Island. There the party stopped at Fraser's whaling station for a short time, and then crossed over in a boat to the mainland where they found accommodation with a whaler named Shearer. From Shearer's hut the party went over the hills to Port Nicholson. There they found only two white men—Joe Robinson at the Hutt, and Smith, the agent of the New Zealand Company, which had now purchased the Harbour, at Ngahauranga.

With the object of seeing as much of the country as he could, if not because he was forestalled by the Company at Port Nicholson, Crawford returned to Porirua and crossed the Strait in an open boat to Cannibal Cove in Queen Charlotte Sound. There he stayed at Elmslie's house and was much taken with the general surroundings. The art of writing had recently been introduced among the Maoris through the advent of Native teachers, and it was "all the rage" then. "They wrote everywhere, on all occasions and on all substances, on slates, on paper, on leaves of flax, and with a good, firm, decided hand." This enthusiasm will explain in some measure the spread of the art of writing, mentioned by the first Missionaries.

From Cannibal Cove Mr. Crawford accompanied a flotilla of returning Maori warriors to Te Awaiti, and there chartered a vessel called the *Harriett*, a cutter of about 20 or 30 tons, belonging to Thoms, for £10 per month. Arthur Elmslie was put in command. In this cranky craft Crawford returned to Port Nicholson for a supply of provisions, and there found his shipmates of the *Success*—Tod, Dr. Taylor, and Rea—all established on the shores of Lambton Harbour, patiently waiting the coming of the immigrants. Leaving them there, Crawford returned to Te Awaiti and sailed the *Harriett* through Tory Channel, en route for the present site of Nelson, to spy out the country. While rounding Stephens Island the mast snapped and the *Harriett* had to be taken back to a Native village on D'Urville Island. Leaving her there Crawford set off in a small two-oared boat through the French Pass, but it was

found that the equipment was not good enough for the journey, and he returned to the *Harriett*. When at Jackson's Head on the return journey, they were unable to clear the point and were compelled to come to an anchor. Crawford went overland to Cannibal Cove, crossed the Sound to the island opposite, and then marched on foot to Te Awaiti, where assistance was obtained and sent to Elmslie, and the *Harriett* was finally landed in safety at Te Awaiti.

After an enforced residence at the whaling station, Crawford procured a crew to take him across the Strait in a whaleboat. It cost them a long day of toil to reach the Heads, and from there he walked to the site of what is now Wellington. Several of the emigrant ships had by this time arrived, and Crawford took up his quarters with them, and from henceforth became identified with the Company's Settlement.

On 16th December the *Christina* sailed from Kapiti for Sydney with 80 tuns of oil, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons of whalebone, and Messrs. Allison and Allen, and 9 men belonging to a whaling gang. While she was at Kapiti there was exceptional activity in shipping. The *Success* arrived on 25th November from Sydney, and sailed for Queen Charlotte Sound 4 days later. The *Harlequin* from the same port and on the same day, sailed three days later for the Chatham Islands. The *Samuel Winter* arrived at Cloudy Bay on 29th November. The *Tokerau* arrived from the Bay of Islands on 24th November to complete her crew, and sailed 4 days later. The *Siren* sailed on 11th December. When the *Christina* sailed on 16th December there were at Kapiti: the *Adelaide* and the *Lydia*, of Salem, whaling, and the *Atlas* and the *Hannah*, on trading voyages.

Chiefly by means of the material supplied by E. J. Wakefield and Dr. Dieffenbach, the author is able to give here what he has been able, at no other period, to present to the reader—statistical information regarding the various whaling stations on the shores of Cook Strait. While in many ways it is wonderful what has been unearthed by a

simple perusal of the shipping columns of the Sydney press, still there is a great field of material quite overlooked by the rough sea captain of these days, who saw nothing interesting or worthy to relate in the domestic life of these old gatherings of Europeans. When the New Zealand Company came, however, these commonplace conditions of the whalers were conditions of the most singular and interesting nature, and they hastened to record them for the benefit of a wide circle of readers. A synopsis here is appropriate.

At Te Awaiti, in September, were some 40 European whalers, all of whom lived with Maori women. Dieffenbach counted 21 half-caste children whose appearance struck him very favourably. In Te Awaiti, and Jackson's Bay alongside, were three whaling establishments, under R. Barrett, J. Thoms, and Jas. Jackson. In addition to these regular establishments, the Natives in the adjoining pas manned two boats, and harpooned whales, but never killed them, selling their rights to the harpooned "fish" to the regular establishments for £20. From 15 to 20 boats were sent out from Te Awaiti when all the stations and "private ventures" were in full swing. The Sound was left to the shore stations, as the ships found it difficult to negotiate, and therefore preferred the more easy access of Cloudy Bay.

Cloudy Bay, or Port Underwood, from the indented nature of its coastline, was an ideal centre for whaling. Robin Hood Bay, at the mouth, on the left-hand side as you enter, was the site of a Native Settlement, in which no Europeans resided. Next came Ocean Bay with two whaling establishments, 30 Europeans, and 100 Natives. Some small vessels were being built here, and here also resided Ferguson, an old trader, who, amongst a community which was always drinking, had earned the reputation of never being sober. In the adjoining cove of Kakapo, or Guard's Bay, resided John Guard with his European wife and children. There were only 5 Europeans here, and the boats of the station were manned chiefly by Natives. This old station, like that of Te Awaiti, still stands awaiting



blubber, and, during the last few years, both have been utilised. Next to Kakapo, Tom Cane's Bay was the site of two stations, one of them managed by an American. On the eastern shore a Portuguese named John was carrying on a whaling station with 4 boats. For the season of 1839 he secured 65 tuns of oil, though much hampered by want of supplies.

Mana Island was not a great whaling centre, but the Messrs. Fraser had a station there.

Kapiti Island on the other hand, exported a great quantity of oil. Off the southern end two small islands, Tahora-maurea and Motungarara, were called Rauparaha's Island and Hiko's Island, on account of being the dwelling places of these Chiefs. On both were American whaling stations; on the former Mayhew's, on the latter, Lewis'. On Kapiti was another station, but it was on Tokumapuna or Evans Island, more to the east of Kapiti and in the roadstead, that the finest whaling station on the coast was to be found. The discipline of a man-of-war pervaded the whole establishment. The crew were in a rough uniform; boats, gear and apparatus were kept spotlessly clean and carefully attended to, and when on shore separate accommodation was provided for the headsman and the boatsteerers, and for the crew. As a result of the rigid discipline Evans' six boats supplied 250 tuns of oil during the 1839 season, while the total output of the 19 boats of the other Kapiti Island and mainland stations was 216 tuns. Tommy Evans' share alone amounted in cash, to £300. The Mainland stations were two, of which one, with seven boats, belonged to J. Thoms. Both were in the vicinity of Porirua. Thoms' station was on the flat near the Plimmerton end of the present railway bridge at Paremata.

#### SYDNEY TRADERS IN COOK STRAIT, 1839.

| Sailing. | Vessel.          | Tons. | Master. | Return. | Tuns Oil. |
|----------|------------------|-------|---------|---------|-----------|
|          | <i>Skerne</i>    | 121   | Catlin  | April   | 22        |
|          | <i>Hannah</i>    | 90    | Hay     | Feb.    | 21 25     |
| Mar. 6   | <i>Hannah</i>    | 90    | Hay     | May     | 29        |
| „ 8      | <i>Harlequin</i> | 71    | Kyle    | Aug.    | 26 21     |

| Sailing. | Vessel.                | Tons. | Master.   | Return.  | Tuns Oil. |
|----------|------------------------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| June 19  | <i>Duchess of Kent</i> |       |           |          |           |
| July 5   | <i>Siren</i>           | 141   | Bradley   | Sept. 27 | 77        |
| „ 25     | <i>Falcon</i>          | 148   | Leslie    | „ 7      | 90        |
| Aug. 5   | <i>Honduras</i>        | 392   | Weller    | Nov. 5   | 109       |
| „ 27     | <i>Susannah Ann</i>    | 80    | Anderson  | Dec. 4   | 18        |
|          | <i>Harlequin</i>       | 71    | Kyle      | Oct. 26  | 31        |
| Sept. 26 | <i>Fair Barbadian</i>  | 137   | Wells     | Dec. 6   | 32        |
| „ 28     | <i>Christina</i>       | 140   | Munn      | Dec. 20  | 80        |
| Oct. 10  | <i>Hannah</i>          | 90    | Leathart  |          |           |
| „ 13     | <i>Siren</i>           | 141   | Watson    | Dec. 21  | 88        |
| „ 13     | <i>Falcon</i>          | 148   | Leslie    | Nov. 22  | 82        |
| „ 19     | <i>Eleanor</i>         | 132   | Rhodes    | April 6  |           |
| „ 20     | <i>Samuel Winter</i>   | 313   | Robertson | Feb. 19  |           |
| Nov. 9   | <i>Harlequin</i>       | 71    | Kyle      | Mar. 11  |           |
| „ 15     | <i>Success</i>         | 80    | Catlin    | June 5   |           |

In addition to the above, Cook Strait was visited during 1839 by the *Tory*, two Missionary Vessels from the Bay of Islands, and a number of American and French whalers. One local vessel—the *Atlas*—plied between Kapiti and the Bay of Islands, and the *Harriett*, owned by Thoms at Te Awaiti, was put into occasional use.

#### 1840.

On 9th February the *Vittoria*, a barque of 281 tons, under the command of Captain Hawke, sailed for New Zealand with 50 head of cattle, 300 sheep, and 3 horses. Her passenger list included Colonel Wilson in the cabin, and Mr. and Mrs Russell and their two children in the steerage. On the night of the twenty-ninth, as she was running in towards the land, she struck upon the long sandspit which stretches out from Cape Farewell. The sandspit was not at all unknown, but it was claimed that it was not correctly laid down on the charts. The *Vittoria* struck about 11 o'clock. The sea ran very high all night, and as the vessel drove deep into the sand she remained fast until morning. About 9 o'clock the crew and passengers got into the boats, and reached the shore in safety about 11 o'clock. Little or nothing was saved, as the vessel went all

to pieces some time after she was abandoned. The crew behaved throughout the unfortunate catastrophe with praiseworthy composure and exertion. Colonel Wilson's cattle were, of course, lost, but the Colonel made arrangements to get back to Sydney in the *Tory*.

On 2nd April W. Hay was at Port Nicholson and sent the following letter to Hempleman by the *Nimrod*:—

Port Nicholson,

2nd April, 1840.

Dear Sir,—

As I could not get the men to engage to whale under you I am obliged to consign my goods to the care of Mr. Samuel Hodge which will make no difference between you and me as I shall abide by former agreement that is to say you are an owner as well as myself, and Mr. Hodge will act between us

I am. Dear Sir

Your Obt Servt.

Captn. Hempleman  
Peraekee.

W. HAY

On 11th April (according to Hempleman's log) the *Nimrod* arrived at Piraki. The next day being Sunday the men refused to work and Captain Hempleman's men had to be employed at five shillings per day, and by Monday afternoon everything was got ashore. Goods were landed by the *Nimrod* to the value of £574 14s. On the Saturday following three of the men ran away, and the following day Hodge went to Akaroa and managed to procure two men, and two more were engaged a few days later.

The major portion of the Cook Strait news for 1840 will be found in the various chapters dealing with special events during that year.

#### THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

On 18th June, 1839, the *Ann and Mary*, under the command of Captain Richards, which was at anchor at Chatham Island, broke from her moorings and was lost, but all hands, fortunately, were saved. Captain Richards was persuaded by the Natives to purchase some of their land and live among them, and he accordingly fixed his habitation on the Island.

We have seen (p. 296) that the *Harlequin* sailed on 28th November for Chatham Island. When there Captain Richards and the crew of the *Ann and Mary* took advantage of the opportunity which presented itself and sailed in her, on 31st January, for New Zealand and Sydney, which latter port they reached on 11th March. Captain Kyle reported that the *Emma*, which had left Sydney in October, had called in at Chatham Island, and had again sailed for the seal fisheries; and that the *Fair Barbadian* was loading there.

In February, 1840, a Mr. Walter Brodie chartered the schooner *Hope*, and proceeded from the Bay of Islands to Chatham Island to form there two pork stations. On his arrival he purchased some 300,000 acres of land for £2,000. The date of the Conveyance (which is now among the Manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, Sydney), is 21st March 1840, which is long after the prohibition of dealings in land made by Governor Gipps.

The *Emma* reached Sydney on 4th April, having sailed from Chatham Island on 18th March, and brought up a cargo of 140 seal skins. Mr. J. Lister came up in her as a passenger. Her shipping report showed that Chatham Island was becoming a most important centre.

The *Martha*, of Fairhaven, 16 mos. out, 800 bar. of sperm, was spoken off the Island.

The *Speculator* was there, ready to sail on 26th March for Sydney.

The *Hope*, of New Zealand, was filling up with pork.

The *Hannibal*, of Sag Harbour, out 19 mos., 1000 bar., homeward bound, and

The *Franklyn*, 800 bar., out 16 mos., were at the Island.

The *Speculator* sailed from Chatham Island on 26th March and brought up a Mr. Hill as a passenger. All the vessels named above had gone when she sailed. She reached Sydney on 9th April, was purchased by Mr. Weller for £1570 and put on the Port Nicholson, Cloudy Bay and Otago trade, and sailed for the coast of New Zealand on 24th May.



## CHAPTER XIX.

AMERICAN WHALERS AND SCIENTISTS, 1838 TO 1840.

1838.

Only four American whalers of the 1837 season were reported on the South Island coast in 1838. Of these the *Gratitude* and *Erie* had gone home and were back on another whaling voyage, the *Rosalie* and the *Mechanic* were the only ones lingering on to complete their cargoes. In addition to the *Gratitude*, there were, of the 1836 fleet, four others, which had gone home, discharged their cargoes, and returned to the New Zealand bays. These were the *Erie*, the *Friendship*, the *Vermont*, and the *Warren*. The *Erie*, which was the pioneer American bay whaler on the New Zealand coast, was therefore on her third voyage. In all we find records of twenty-four American whalers, of which New Bedford sent 7, Warren 4, Fairhaven and British America 2 each, and Plymouth, Wilmington, Salem, Rochester, Bristol, Poughkeepsie, Newport, Fall River, and Nantucket 1 each; a sure sign—the spread of the ports—that the New Zealand trade was proving very profitable to the Americans.

At the New Zealand end a well-marked alteration had taken place in the bays to which the vessels resorted. Instead of crowding into Cloudy Bay, as had been done in 1836, or spreading evenly over all the bays, as had been done in 1837, the American whalers showed a preference for Kapiti Island, Banks Peninsula, and Bluff Harbour: treating Mana Island, Cloudy Bay, Otago Harbour, Molyneux bay, Stewart Island, Preservation Inlet, and Chatham Island as minor stations.

The following table will give a very fair idea of the distribution of the fleet throughout the year:—

| Station.         | Vessel.          | Home Port.  | Captain. |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|----------|
| Stewart Island   | <i>Gratitude</i> | New Bedford | Fisher   |
| Preservation Bay | <i>Fortune</i>   | Plymouth    | Goodwin  |

| Station.       | Vessel.                  | Home Port.   | Captain.  |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Bluff          | <i>Alexander Barclay</i> | New Bedford  | Norton    |
|                | <i>Rosalie</i>           | Warren       | Pickens   |
|                | <i>Lucy Ann</i>          | Wilmington   | Parker    |
|                | <i>Izette</i>            | Salem        | Hall      |
| Molyneux       | <i>Fortune</i>           | Plymouth     | Goodwin   |
| Otago          | <i>Columbus</i>          | Fairhaven    | Ellis     |
|                | <i>Friendship</i>        | "            | West      |
| Akaroa         | <i>Rosalie</i>           | Warren       | Pickens   |
|                | <i>Vermont</i>           | Poughkeepsie | Howland   |
|                | <i>Honqua</i>            | New Bedford  | Mosher    |
|                | <i>Gold Hunter</i>       | Fall River   | Estes     |
|                | <i>Rajah</i>             | New Bedford  | Nickerson |
|                | <i>Averick</i>           | "            | Stetson   |
| Port Cooper    | <i>Friendship</i>        | Fairhaven    | West      |
|                | <i>Shylock</i>           | Rochester    | Taber     |
|                | <i>Bowditch</i>          | Bristol      | Ramsdell  |
|                | <i>Rajah</i>             | New Bedford  | Nickerson |
| Cloudy Bay     | <i>Warren</i>            | Warren       | Lewis     |
|                | <i>Erie</i>              | Newport      | Dennis    |
|                | <i>Montano</i>           | Nantucket    | Sayer     |
|                | <i>James Steward</i>     | Brit. Amer.  | Gardner   |
|                | <i>Mechanic</i>          | "            |           |
| Mana Island    | <i>Adeline</i>           | New Bedford  | Brown     |
| Kapiti         | <i>Warren</i>            | Warren       | Lewis     |
|                | <i>Luminary</i>          | "            | Mayhew    |
|                | <i>Atlas</i>             | "            | Russell   |
|                | <i>Adeline</i>           | New Bedford  | Brown     |
| Chatham Island | <i>Rebecca Sims</i>      | "            | Ray       |

Stewart Island may be ignored as a whaling ground. The *Gratitude* arrived there on 10th October with four families or parties who had, some time before, settled at King George's Sound, Western Australia, and, desiring to shift their quarters, had taken advantage of the American whaler calling in there to shift in a body. They consisted of the Cheyne family, the Skinner family, and Messrs. Townshend and Robinson. It was at first reported in Sydney that they had purchased Stewart Island, but as they made their way to Sydney later on, it is more than

probable that Port Jackson was their ultimate destination, and that they were utilising the best means at their disposal for getting there.

At the Bluff, the *Alexander Barclay*, the *Rosalie*, the *Fortune*, and the *Lucy Ann*, were whaling at the opening of the season. The *Rosalie* had come from Sydney, where she had been driven in quest of provisions, having before that been at Akaroa, but she does not appear to have waited long at the Bluff. By 11th July the others had been joined by the Salem whaler *Izette*, the first whaler fitted out from that port in the effort to establish the whale fishery in Salem, which, though one of the greatest shipping ports in America, had never cultivated this branch of trade until 1831. The celebrated Joseph Peabody was one of her owners. These vessels did practically all their whaling for this season at the Bluff, and our meagre knowledge of their movements is obtained chiefly from "Johnny" Jones' captain—Bruce—when reporting the arrival of the *Magnet* at Sydney. American journals never spread themselves to give whaling news, and even scraps of information are only to be got when a vessel filled in the bay and sailed direct for home. If the last barrel was stowed away out on the banks no bay news was recorded.

Captain Wm. Wells reported in Sydney that the *Fortune* was to sail from Molyneux Bay for home on 14th November with a cargo of 1500 bar. of oil and 10 tons of bone. Why she did not reach her destination until thirteen months afterwards the author cannot say, unless, as the "Sydney Monitor" reported, she was merely refitting at the Molyneux, and the statement of her being bound home was premature.

Otago did not appear to present very many attractions to the Americans. The *Columbus* was the only whaler to spend the full season there. The *Friendship*, the other American reported there, left some time in July for Port Cooper. The *Columbus* sailed direct home, a full ship.

The *Rosalie* called in at Akaroa, on her road to Sydney for provisions, on 20th February, and while there she

relieved the necessities of Captain Hempleman whose station at Piraki was very hard pressed for stores. Captain Pickens himself visited Piraki on 22nd and 23rd February. He reached Sydney on 19th March and sailed again on the twenty-eighth. Another American whaler visited Akaroa on 1st May, but details are not available. Our information about the *Vermont*, the *Honqua*, the *Gold Hunter*, and the *Rajah*, is obtained from the first-named, on her arrival at New York, when her captain reported that he had left the others at Akaroa. She took 125 days on her passage, which would place all four at Akaroa on 29th May. On 4th August the *Gold Hunter* and the *Honqua* were still at Akaroa, the *Rajah* at Port Cooper, and the *Averick*, mentioned now the first time, at Akaroa. Hempleman's log, which might have given us valuable information about the movements of the Americans at Akaroa, is not written up for more than a small portion of this whaling season.

In the case of Port Cooper the *Governor Bourke*, of Sydney, reported the four vessels mentioned in the table as being all full, and ready to sail for home. The *Friendship* had come up from Otago, and the *Rajah* round from Akaroa, but of the other two we have no information further than their presence there. The *Rajah* left on 4th August for the Bay of Islands, and the next day the *Shylock* sailed direct for home, reaching her destination on 6th December. She reported on arrival that the two left behind wanted three whales each to fill up.

The *Warren* is reported to have narrowly escaped shipwreck at Cloudy Bay in January. The *Montano* arrived there on 20th February and the *Mechanic*, a full ship, the following day. Two Americans, names not given, are stated to have been at Cloudy Bay in June. These last-named were probably the *Erie* and the *James Stewart*, as these two vessels sailed from the Bay on 26th December for the ocean whaling. The *Erie* was our old pioneer whaler from Newport, and the *James Stewart* was from British North America. From the great falling-off in whaling here it was evident that the Americans had had enough of it.



The Commander of H.M.S. *Pelorus* found two American whalers at Mana Island in September, but the *Adeline*, whose captain gave every assistance on the occasion of the murder of Captain Cherry, is the only one we can identify.

The *Luminary* and the *Warren* "fished" at Kapiti during the season, as they are recorded from American sources as being there on 1st June, and from Sydney sources, as having sailed with the *Adeline* for the sperm fishery, on 20th October. The *Atlas* was a tender to the *Luminary* and the *Warren*, both of which vessels were under the one proprietary.

The only American known to have visited Chatham Island during 1838 was the *Rebecca Sims*. It is of her third visit there that we have particulars. On arrival the Natives failed to come on board, as had been their wont on former occasions, and Captain Ray, astonished at his treatment, went ashore to learn the cause. He was not long in finding out that they had taken and burned the *Jean Bart*, a French whaler, and were fearful of European vengeance for their misdeeds. From the information which Captain Ray picked up, he came to the conclusion that the *Jean Bart* had been taken shortly after anchoring, and that the Natives, who had come on board in great numbers, with the design of taking possession of the ship, had seized advantage of the moment when the men were occupied furling the sails. It was thought that the Natives had seized some of the whaling lances and used them against the crew, as some clothes which had belonged to the French sailors, and which were found on the Natives, had gashes in them as if made by cutting instruments. They were also seen to be smeared with blood, when obtained by the men of the *Rebecca Sims*. The Americans also saw ashore a number of the islanders who bore marks of wounds, as though from that class of instruments. From what he saw Ray came to the conclusion that the whole French crew had been massacred. He was told, however, that some of the men had embarked in four boats, and had gone to Pitt Island. He examined this island

with much care; but, though skirting it at less than half a mile distance, saw neither smoke nor other indication of the presence of the unfortunate Frenchmen. It was told to the Americans, by a woman, that a cabin boy of the *Jean Bart*, found on board after the massacre, had been spared and taken ashore alive. Captain Ray, as soon as possible, set sail for the Bay of Islands, where he found the French corvette, *Heroine*, on the eve of sailing for Tahiti, and he at once informed Captain Cecille of the awful calamity which had befallen his countrymen.

Captain Ray accompanied Captain Cecille, in the expedition which that officer organised to Chatham Island, and his movements in that connection will be detailed with the doings of the French whalers.

The *Rebecca Sims* was not a "right" but a "sperm" whaler, and her calls at Chatham Island were only to obtain refreshments for the ship's company. When she arrived home her cargo consisted of only 90 barrels of black oil, but 2490 of sperm. With bay whalers the figures were generally reversed.

The following information is available about the return journeys of the fleet and of their cargoes:—

| Ship.               | Tons. | Return.<br>1838. | Cargoes in Barrels and Lbs.<br>Black. Sperm. Bone. |      |  |        |
|---------------------|-------|------------------|--|------|--|--------|
| <i>Vermont</i>      | 292   | Oct. 2           | 200  | 2600 |  |        |
| <i>Shylock</i>      | 278   | Dec. 6           | 41   | 2444 |  |        |
| 1839.               |       |                  |  |      |  |        |
| <i>Bowditch</i>     | 398   | Jan. 12          | 300  | 2400 |  |        |
| <i>Friendship</i>   | 360   | „ 22             | 119  | 2615 |  | 28,000 |
| <i>Rajah</i>        | 250   | „ 28             | 310  | 1649 |  |        |
| <i>Columbus</i>     | 382   | Feb. 21          | 135  | 3065 |  |        |
| <i>Gold Hunter</i>  | 281   | Apr. 10          |  | 2200 |  |        |
| <i>Lucy Ann</i>     | 309   | „ 24             | 100  | 2400 |  | 24,000 |
| <i>Honqua</i>       | 330   | May 8            |  | 2741 |  | 25,000 |
| <i>Montano</i>      | 365   | „ 30             | 53   | 2710 |  |        |
| <i>Rebecca Sims</i> | 400   | Sep. 19          | 2490   | 93   |  |        |
| <i>Luminary</i>     | 432   | Oct. 2           | 600  | 3200 |  |        |
| <i>Averick</i>      | 470   | „ 3              |  | 4200 |  |        |
| <i>Gratitude</i>    | 337   | „ 27             | 260  | 2490 |  |        |

## THE OLD WHALING DAYS

| Ship                     | Tons. | Return.<br>1839. | Cargoes in<br>Black. | Barrels.<br>Sperm. |
|--------------------------|-------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Fortune</i>           | 278   | Oct. 31          |                      | 2300               |
| <i>Alexander Barclay</i> | 465   | Nov. 26          |                      | 4500               |
| <i>Izette</i>            | 275   | Dec. 20          | 250                  | 2050               |
|                          |       | 1840             |                      |                    |
| <i>Adeline</i>           | 329   | May 16           | 100                  | 2400               |
| <i>Warren</i>            | 382   | July 16          | 235                  | 3065               |

The cargoes for the 19 vessels mentioned total 49,122 barrels of black oil, or 2585 barrels per ship.

## 1839.

The year 1839 found more American whalers on the coast than any year up to that time. The numbers so far had been (1834) 1, (1835) 2, (1836) 20, (1837) 13, (1838) 24. The number now rose to 37. Of these, the *Erie* had been whaling on the coast in 1834; the *Warren*, in 1835; the *South Boston*, the *Gratitude*, the *Samuel Robertson*, the *Navy*, the *Warren*, the *Erie*, and the *Favourite*, in 1836; the *Margaret Rait*, the *Gratitude*, and the *Erie*, in 1837; and the *Izette*, the *Gratitude*, the *Luminary*, the *Averick*, the *Warren*, the *Erie*, the *Fortune*, the *Atlas*, and the *Adeline*, in 1838. The *Erie* was on her 3rd voyage; and the *South Boston*, the *Margaret Rait*, the *Gratitude*, the *Samuel Robertson*, the *Warren*, and the *Favourite* were on their second. From the point of view of the ports on the eastern seaboard of America from which the whalers came, we find that they are arranged as follows:—New Bedford, 12; Fairhaven and Warren, 5 each; New London, 4; Newburyport 3; Salem 2; and Plymouth, Poughkeepsie, New York, Hudson, Wilmington, Sag Harbor, and St. John's 1 each. At the New Zealand extremity there was no change of any consequence in the distribution of the fleet; the following being the arrangement so far as it can be ascertained.

| Station.       | Vessel.                 | Home Ports. | Captain.  |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Paterson's Bay | <i>South Boston</i>     | Fairhaven   | Butler    |
|                | <i>Gratitude</i>        | New Bedford | Fisher    |
| The Bluff      | <i>William Hamilton</i> | New Bedford | Swain     |
|                | <i>General Williams</i> | New London  | Holdridge |

| Station.        | Vessel.                 | Home Ports.  | Captain.  |
|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Otago           | <i>Margaret Rait</i>    | St. Johns    | Coffin    |
|                 | <i>Amethyst</i>         | New Bedford  | Reynard   |
|                 | <i>Roman</i>            | "            | Bartlett  |
|                 | <i>Sarah Frances</i>    | Fairhaven    | Cox       |
|                 | <i>Arab</i>             | "            | Russell   |
|                 | <i>Izette</i>           | Salem        | Hall      |
|                 | <i>Ann Maria</i>        | New London   | Middleton |
|                 | <i>Superior</i>         | Wilmington   | McLean    |
|                 | <i>John and Edward</i>  | New London   | Bailey    |
|                 | <i>Julius Cæsar</i>     | "            | McLean    |
|                 | <i>South Boston</i>     | Fairhaven    | Butler    |
|                 | <i>Thorn</i>            | Sag Harbor   | Tuttle    |
| Banks Pen's'la. | <i>Jasper</i>           | Fairhaven    | Adams     |
|                 | <i>Luminary</i>         | Warren       | Mayhew    |
|                 | <i>Sarah Frances</i>    | Fairhaven    | Cox       |
|                 | <i>Helvetia</i>         | Hudson       | Cottle    |
|                 | <i>White Oak</i>        | New York     | Barney    |
|                 | <i>N. P. Talmadge</i>   | Poughkeepsie | Post      |
|                 | <i>Gratitude</i>        | New Bedford  | Fisher    |
|                 | <i>Averick</i>          | "            | Lawrence  |
|                 | <i>George</i>           | "            | Chace     |
|                 | <i>Samuel Robertson</i> | "            | McKenzie  |
|                 | <i>China</i>            | "            | Potter    |
|                 | <i>Favourite</i>        | Fairhaven    | Swift     |
|                 | <i>Atlantic</i>         | Warren       | Howland   |
|                 | <i>Navy</i>             | Newburyport  | Brock     |
| Cloudy Bay      | <i>Merrimac</i>         | "            | Starbuck  |
|                 | <i>Adeline</i>          | New Bedford  | Brown     |
|                 | <i>Warren</i>           | Warren       | Lewis     |
|                 | <i>Erie</i>             | Newport      | Dennis    |
|                 | <i>Fortune</i>          | Plymouth     | Goodwin   |
|                 | <i>Grand Turk</i>       | New Bedford  | Dexter    |
|                 | <i>Samuel Robertson</i> | "            | McKenzie  |
|                 | <i>Favourite</i>        | Fairhaven    | Swift     |
|                 | <i>Atlas</i>            | Warren       | Mayhew    |
|                 | <i>Cherokee</i>         | New Bedford  | Cook      |
| Kapiti Island   | <i>China</i>            | "            | Potter    |
|                 | <i>Lydia</i>            | Salem        | Ramsdel   |



| Station.      | Vessel.                 | Home Ports. | Captain. |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------|----------|
| Kapiti Island | <i>Roman</i>            | New Bedford | Bartlett |
| Auckland Id.  | <i>North America</i>    | Warren      | Simmonds |
|               | <i>Roman</i>            | New Bedford | Bartlett |
|               | <i>Amethyst</i>         | „           | Reynard  |
| Chatham Id.   | <i>William Hamilton</i> | „           | Swain    |

Stewart Island, which never had a long array of American whalers visiting it, had only two recorded. Very early in the year—probably in January—the *South Boston* was at Paterson's River, and had secured 1500 barrels of oil during the 9 months since she sailed from Fairhaven. Her captain—Butler—told Captain Bruce of the *Maquet* that something like 1500 whalers were fitting out in America for the whaling trade on the western coast of Australia, very favourable news having been received of the success of the whalers already there.

The only other mention of Stewart Island is the statement made by the captain of the *South Boston* that the *Gratitude* passed Otago Bay on 16th May, bound for Paterson's River for recruits, as she was a full ship and was making for home.

At the Bluff, at the end of July, were the following:—The *William Hamilton*, the *General Williams*, the *Margaret Rait*, the *Amethyst*, and the *Roman*, all reported by the coastal shipping at Sydney. The *Margaret Rait* sailed in July with 700 barrels. Her voyage had commenced on 8th July, 1838, and she had called at Sydney on 19th February to tranship her oil for London. The *William Hamilton* sailed on 29th August, with 500 barrels, and the *Roman* on 1st September, with 1500. All had left for the whaling grounds. The *General Williams* was the last to leave, and she was at the Bluff on 12th September.

The *Sarah Francis* was at Otago in January. She had been to Rio, sent home 1500 barrels of oil, refitted, and had secured 1160 barrels of black and 70 of sperm on her second venture. Later on, probably in April, there were at Otago the barque *Arab*, the *Izette*, and the *Ann Maria*. All were full and bound for home. After leaving Pater-

son's River the *South Boston* made for Otago, and sailed from that port on 22nd May with a full cargo of 2900 barrels. She left there, the *Superior*, with 700 barrels, the *Julius Cæsar*, with 500 barrels, and the *John and Edward*, with 2000 barrels. A week before the *South Boston* sailed the *Thorn* had also sailed with 700 barrels for the Bay of Islands, where she arrived on 15th June, sailing again on 11th July.

Banks Peninsula maintained its popularity with the whaling captains. On 6th February the *Jasper* called at Piraki and Captain Adams spent some time ashore with Hempleman. The *Jasper* left the very next day. It will be remembered that the *Jasper* was in the habit of calling at Akaroa for refreshments. She was now virtually a full ship and, on 25th March, sailed for New Bedford, leaving at Akaroa the *Sarah Frances*, with 1880 barrels on board, and the *Luminary*, which had put into port to repair some damage to her cutwater, and was to sail in a few days on another cruise.

On 16th February a boat from an American ship lying at Akaroa called in at Piraki and purchased a supply of potatoes. Though her name is not given, an entry in Hempleman's log would suggest that it was the *Sarah Frances*.

During March, when the whales were procured off the land and the bays were deserted of "fish," there were recorded as "fishing off Banks Peninsula" the *Helvetia*, the *White Oak*, the *N.P. Talmadge*, the *Gratitude*, and the *Averick*. The *Gratitude* had met with a serious accident and her second officer, Charles Howard, had been killed by a whale in December. She was just about full at this date, and, later on, made for Stewart Island, to get recruits, it was said, but more probably to land Stewart Island men who were among her crew, prior to sailing homeward.

During the first three months of the year, when there were no whales in the Bay, the Piraki station confined itself to getting ready for the busy season, and supplying potatoes to the French and American shipping which frequented

the various bays of the Peninsula. Thus Hempleman records the doings at his station [21st Feb.] "Diging Potatoes up the two boats Left for wangeloar (Akaroa) with A load of Potatoes." [16th Apl] "At 1 p.m. launch'd the Big Boat with three tons of potatoes, which the Capt. Chase and the 2nd Mate tow'd to Wangooloa." Captain Chase, mentioned here, was the commander of the Fairhaven whaler, *George*, and American files report that she was at Akaroa, on 10th May, with 800 barrels, bound sperm whaling.

Another American whaler here at this date, and which also sent round to Hempleman's for supplies of potatoes, was the *Samuel Robertson* of New Bedford, commanded by Captain McKenzie. The following statement signed by Captain McKenzie was found amongst Hempleman's papers and shows the trade between the American whaler and the station:—

Bought of Capt Hempleman

|                                |    |     |    |   |
|--------------------------------|----|-----|----|---|
| to 3 tons potatoes at 5        | .. | £15 | 0  | 0 |
| 1½ chest tea at 3              | .. | 3   | 0  | 0 |
| 50lbs White Lead at 4d         | .. | 0   | 16 | 8 |
| 1 Bag Shot at                  |    |     |    |   |
| 25lbs green paint at 4d        | .. | 0   | 8  | 4 |
| 5 gallons good Cape Wine at 6s |    | 1   | 10 | 0 |

Supra

Cr By

|                             |    |       |    |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|----|
|                             |    | \$    | c  |
| 1000 Iron hoops at 5\$      | .. | 50    |    |
| 500 lbs Bread at 5½c        | .. | 27    | 50 |
| 10 Gallons paint oil at 75c | .. | 7     | 50 |
|                             |    | <hr/> |    |
|                             |    | 85    | 00 |

or £17

DANL MCKENZIE

Ship Saml Robertson of New Bedford.

On 12th June, off Akaroa, the *Atlantic*, 323 tons, Howland, of Warren, was lost. The crew were saved, and the

master, officers, and six seamen were taken to the Bay of Islands, on board the French whaler *France*, of Havre, and landed there on 23rd July. The remaining seamen stayed to look for employment at Akaroa. At the Bay of Islands J. R. Clendon, the American Consul, rendered the shipwrecked seamen every assistance, finding employment on board the American whalers in the Bay for one officer and five seamen, and sending the master, first mate, and one seaman, home in the *General Jackson* on 3rd August. According to Hempleman's log on 12th June there were strong winds from the southward, so that probably the *Atlantic* was blown ashore. On the sixteenth, Robinson, the tonguer at Akaroa, came round to Piraki with a crew of the *Atlantic*. They returned to Akaroa on the eighteenth, and on the twentieth "the *Atlantic's* People signed articles" at the Piraki station.

This was the first American whaler lost in Southern New Zealand.

On 20th June the *China* with 1000 barrels, and the *Favourite* with 75, were both at Akaroa.

During the month of April a large number of Americans gathered in Cook Strait, chiefly in Cloudy Bay. The names of the following are given:—

Full—*Warren*, 382 tons, 21 mos out.

*Luminary*, 432 tons, 21 mos. out.

*Merrimac*, 414 tons.

*Navy*, 356 tons.

*Adeline*, 329 tons.

Loading.—*Fortune*, 278 tons, 300 barrels.

*Erie*, 375 tons, 700 barrels.

Of these the *Navy* got away on 23rd April, and reached Gloucester, U.S.A., on 6th September; the *Merrimac*, and the *Fortune* sailed on the twenty-eighth of the same month.

The *Luminary* and the *Warren* both belonged to the whaling port of Warren, Rhode Island, and sailed under John Smith Jr. & Co., of that place. From what cause is unknown, but Lewis left his ship, the *Warren*, at Cloudy Bay without provisions or crew to take her home, although



she had on board, 3000 barrels of black oil and 250 of sperm. Seeing this, Mayhew, the captain of the *Luminary*, sent his vessel, which was also full, home in charge of the chief mate, Price, while he took the *Atlas*, which was used as a tender for these two vessels, and carried to the deserted whaler men and provisions for the homeward voyage.

Lewis afterwards established a whaling station on one of the small islands at Kapiti, known later on by his name, and when the *Tory* was there, on 12th November, a vessel called the *Tokerau*, which had formerly been an American whaler, but, having been wrecked at the Bay of Islands, had been bought by its present owner, refitted, and given the New Zealand flag, called in to take Lewis on board as its commander. In addition to the island called Lewis', another was called Mayhew's, and it also had a whaling station upon it.

The *Grand Turk* arrived at Cloudy Bay before the *Merrimac* sailed on 28th April, and she, in her turn, sailed on 2th July. There were then in the Bay the *Warren* and the *Atlas*, the former ready to leave for home, which she did next day in charge of Russell, who formerly commanded the *Atlas*. Mayhew remained with that vessel, and appears to have traded to and from the Bay of Islands. The *Samuel Robertson* wanted only two whales to complete. She got away on 3rd August. There were then only two other vessels in the Bay, the *Erie* with 1600 barrels, and the *Favourite* with 400.

The other known American visitor was the *Cherokee*, out 14 mos., with 900 barrels of black, and 450 of sperm oil.

For the remainder of the year the few American vessels which frequented Cook Strait appear to have called at Kapiti. Late in July the *China* was there, and in November the *Adeline*, the *Lydia*, the *Atlas*, and the *Tokerau*. The *Lydia* left to cruise to the southward, on 16th December, and about the same time the *Roman* called.

Towards the end of the year, when the *Adeline* was lying at anchor at Kapiti, one of her boats, while towing a raft of water from the shore to the ship, was forcibly

taken from the crew by an armed party of eight Europeans and one New Zealander, belonging to a shore whaling party at Kapiti. Captain Thomas Brown reported this to the American Consul at the Bay of Islands, who forwarded it on to Washington and informed the Secretary of State that not a season passed without American whaling ships suffering more or less from "the lawless wretches in the whaling Bays of Cooks Straits," at the same time expressing his regret that no U.S. Ships of war had yet visited New Zealand.

At Chatham Island only one whaler was reported. After the action taken by the *Rebecca Sims* the previous year it is not surprising that they were not very keen to visit the spot, and they had been warned by the American press to be on their guard.

We have the Auckland Islands mentioned this year for the first time as a whaling resort for Americans. On 3rd April there were there three whalers:—the *North America*, the *Roman*, and the *Amethyst*. The first-named sailed on the date mentioned, a full ship, and the other two shortly afterwards made for the Bluff.

#### 1840.

The six months of the year with which we are concerned saw 26 whalers recorded on the coast of Southern New Zealand. Of this fleet New Bedford and Sag Harbor sent 7 each, New London 3, Fairhaven 2, and Warren, Newark, Poughkeepsie, Newport, Providence, St. Johns and Fall River 1 each.

The *Alexander Barclay*, 465 tons, Norton, of New Bedford, was the only vessel reported in Foveaux Strait. When 4 months out she had obtained 200 barrels.

Otago was rather better patronised than its neighbouring whaling ground. When D'Urville called in at the end of March there were two American whalers at anchor. Though their names are not given us they were probably the *Washington*, 340 tons, Osborne, of Sag Harbor, and

the *Superior* of New London, ready for home, as these vessels are known to have been there in April.

During the month of May quite a number visited the Port. Sydney captains reported four:—The *Fanny*, 391 tons, Edwards, Sag Harbour; the *Columbus*, 382 tons, Fish, Fairhaven; the *Ann Maria*, 368 tons, Middleton, New London; the *Newton*, 283 tons, Hathaway, New Bedford. Of these the first wanted 600 barrels to fill up, the second 500, while the third intended to stay for the bay season there, and the fourth had 1400 barrels in her hold.

The *Chariot*, 355 tons, Littlefield, of Warren, was off Banks Peninsula on 9th February with 1000 barrels, and an American was at Akaroa when D'Urville called on 8th April.

On 1st April the *Addison*, Tower, New Bedford, sailed from Cloudy Bay with 1800 barrels of oil on board. The *Favourite*, Swift, followed on 2nd May, leaving the two New Bedford vessels, *Good Return* and *Octavia*, at that port. The former had on board 1300 barrels, and the latter 900. By 8th May they were joined by the *John Wells*, Russell, of Newark, and the barque *Vermont*, Kendrick, of Poughkeepsie. The *Octavia* was on the eve of leaving for a cruise to the Chatham Islands. Shortly afterwards the *General Williams*, the *Columbia*, and the *Cherokee* arrived, and there were at that date the following five American whalers in the Bay:—

| Vessel.                 | Tons. | Captain.  | Port.        |
|-------------------------|-------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>General Williams</i> | 446   | Holdridge | New London   |
| <i>Columbia</i>         | 285   | Edwards   | Sag Harbor   |
| <i>Cherokee</i>         | 261   | Cook      | New Bedford  |
| <i>John Wells</i>       | 366   | Russell   | Newark       |
| <i>Vermont</i>          | 292   | Kendrick  | Poughkeepsie |

all of them well on to complete their cargoes and return.

By this time the Town of Britannia was in a very forward state on the shores of Port Nicholson, but the whalers avoided it rather than sought opportunities to refresh at it; their captains, probably fearing the desertion of their men, seemed to avoid towns where law and order prevailed.

When H.M.S. *Herald* called at the Bay on 10th June and proclaimed British sovereignty, Captain Nias reported that there were five American whalers at anchor. So far as we can determine they were those mentioned above.

The following whalers were reported at and around Chatham Islands:—

| Date.   | Vessel.              | Tons. | Master.     | Port.       |
|---------|----------------------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| Jan. 1  | <i>Chariot</i>       | 355   | Littlefield | Warren      |
| „ 8     | <i>Franklin</i>      | 333   | Howland     | New Bedford |
| Feb. 15 | <i>Panama</i>        | 464   | Crowell     | Sag Harbor  |
| „ 15    | <i>Superior</i>      |       | McLean      | New London  |
| Mar. 4  | <i>Ann Maria</i>     | 368   | Middleton   | „           |
| „ 10    | <i>Neptune</i>       | 338   | Sleight     | Sag Harbor  |
| „ 18    | <i>Hannibal</i>      | 311   | Bennett     | „           |
| May 1   | <i>Concordia</i>     | 265   | Woodward    | „           |
| „ 9     | <i>Erie</i>          | 375   | Dennis      | Newport     |
| „ 9     | <i>Envoy</i>         | 392   | Pease       | Providence  |
| „ 9     | <i>Royal William</i> |       | Jenney      | St. Johns   |
| „ 9     | <i>Gold Hunter</i>   | 281   | Estes       | Fall River  |

Of these the *Concordia* sailed on 1st May and the *Gold Hunter* seven days later. On 17th May the *Erie* was lost. She was taken aback while attempting to beat out of the bay, was thrown upon the beach and bilged, and went to pieces a few days afterwards in a gale. She had on board 2600 barrels, including 230 of sperm, and 2400 were saved. Captain Dennis sold 1100 barrels to Captain Littlefield of the *Chariot*, and the remainder to Captain Jenney of the *Royal William*, at 1 dollar per barrel. All the sails, spars, and rigging were saved. The Captain, mate, and two boat-steerers, and two of the crew, came up in the *Royal William* and the remainder of the crew stopped on the Island. The vessel and her cargo were insured in New York and Boston. The *Royal William* and the *Chariot* left the Island on 18th June.

#### WILKES' EXPEDITION, 1839 AND 1840.

The great development of American whaling in the Southern Pacific early directed the attention of that young nation to the necessity of exploring and surveying these



waters, to determine the existence of doubtful islands, and to fix accurately the position of those that lay in the track of their whalers. For this purpose large Appropriations were made by Congress, and several vessels were put into commission. It is not necessary to go into the details of the difficulties which were encountered and overcome before the Expedition left Hampton Roads on 17th August, 1838; we are more concerned with what was actually accomplished. On the date just mentioned, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes sailed with a squadron consisting of the *Vincennes*, a sloop of war of 780 tons; the *Peacock*, a sloop of war of 650 tons; the *Porpoise*, a gun-brig of 250 tons; two tenders, the *Sea Gull* and the *Flying Fish*, of 110 and 96 tons respectively; and the store ship *Relief*.

The Expedition was in Sydney, preparing for the Antarctic portion of their voyage, when H.M.S. *Druid* arrived with Captain Hobson, on his way to take over the governorship of New Zealand. By this time it had been reduced to the *Vincennes*, the *Peacock*, the *Porpoise*, and the *Flying Fish*, the *Relief* having landed her stores and sailed for home some ten days before the arrival of the other vessels. Of these the *Flying Fish* was reported as quite unfit for the rigours of the Antarctic, and throughout all the vessels, indeed, it was felt that the equipment was not up to the standard required for the dangerous work ahead of them. It says a great deal for Wilkes, that after getting what refitting Sydney could give him, he pushed on for the Antarctic on 26th December, 1839.

The ships separated on 2nd January, 1840, and, as Macquarie Island had been named as the first rendezvous, they all made for that place. The *Peacock* reached the Island on the tenth and landed Mr. Eld and a quartermaster to fix up the signals agreed upon. After this was completed these two officers visited the penguin rookeries for specimens. The vast congregation of birds they found there was a revelation to the Americans, but, although they made strenuous efforts to secure some good specimens, they had to come away empty-handed, the difficulties

encountered at the landing preventing the specimens being shipped. Before the *Peacock* left the Island, the *Flying Fish* had arrived, and those on board the latter saw the former, but were not in turn seen by them. On the eleventh the acting master of the *Flying Fish* got ashore and erected a staff and signal, and reported experiences similar to those of the *Peacock* officer.

The *Vincennes* and the *Porpoise* failed to reach the Island. On 7th January they found themselves to leeward of their objective, and Lieutenant Wilkes directed a course to be steered for Emerald Island, the second rendezvous.

That none of the four vessels ever reached the second rendezvous goes without saying when we mention the interesting fact that there is no such island as Emerald Island—at least in the South Seas.

We will not follow Wilkes' movements in the Antarctic, but will pick up the *Porpoise*, on her return, when she saw the Auckland Islands, on 5th March, and cast anchor in Sarah's Bosom two days later. Her stay was a short one of only two days, but Dr. Holmes took advantage of that short respite to explore the land and visit some of the smaller islands.

Near the watering place was a large hut erected by a French whaler, another ruined one stood near by, and the grave of a French sailor, with his name cut on a wooden cross, showed that this was the resort of French vessels to refit, and to await the coming of the whales in April and May. Before leaving, a board was erected on a pole and the following notice displayed:—"U.S. brig *Porpoise*, 73 days out from Sydney, New Holland, on her return from an exploring cruize along the Antarctic Circle, all well; arrived the 7th, and sailed again on the 10th March, for the Bay of Islands, New Zealand." A paper, with a statement of their visit endorsed, was also left as an additional notification.

It is interesting here to note that D'Urville anchored in Sarah's Bosom the following day, and actually saw the American brig and heard her guns.

The only other visit of Wilkes' vessels to the Southern Islands was that of the *Peacock* to Macquarie Island on 4th February, but she merely sailed past, bound for Sydney, where she arrived on the twenty-first, and where she was joined by the *Vincennes* on 11th March. Two days before that date the *Flying Fish* had reached the Bay of Islands, where she was joined, on 26th March, by the *Porpoise*. The subsequent movements of the American squadron are outside the province of this work.

## CHAPTER XX.

FRENCH WHALERS AND SCIENTISTS, 1839 AND 1840.

1839.

The only French whalers reported on the Southern New Zealand coast during this year were at Banks Peninsula. Early in January the *France* was at Akaroa, and on the fifth of that month the captain called on Hempleman at Piraki, and the latter returned to Akaroa with his visitor. Again, on 18th February, a boat from a French whaler at Akaroa, called the *Roland*, took round a cask of beef to the Piraki station, and Hempleman returned in the boat at daylight next day. The crew of the *Roland* were very bad with scurvy, and two trips were accordingly made to Piraki and several boat loads of potatoes obtained for them.

We again hear of a French vessel at Akaroa, on 13th April, buying  $3\frac{3}{4}$  cwt. of potatoes at the Piraki station. Two days afterwards the second mate of the French whaler was again at Piraki, with Captain Chase of the *George*, and 3 tons of potatoes were sent round to Akaroa in Hempleman's big boat, towed by the two officers. During that week, until Sunday, 21st April, the French mate was at Piraki almost daily.

On 29th April the *Perseverance* came into Piraki, having on board of her some merchandise for Hempleman, brought from Akaroa. There was already in Piraki a French whaler called the *Narval*, commanded by Captain Duval, and from this time on, while they were in Piraki together, the relationship between the two French whalers, and the whaling station, was of the most friendly nature, although the keenest rivalry existed between them in the catching of the whales. Hempleman's log records the fact when one of his boats captured a large whale from "the French ships"; when the *Perseverance* supplied a crew to take the big boat round to Akaroa; when the *Perseverance's*



boats were utilized by Hempleman's men; and when, on repeated occasions, the station's whales were cut alongside the *Persverance*. When this vessel, which appeared to be the more friendly with the station, sailed on 27th July for Akaroa, "3 Pots, Try work, Gear, &c., &c., were transferred to Hempleman's boat, and on 11th August the station mated with the *Narval* until she, too, sailed on 26th August.

When the American whaler, *Atlantic*, was wrecked on the coast near Akaroa, on 12th June, the master, officers, and six of the seamen were taken to the Bay of Islands on board the *France*, which was then at Akaroa.

1840.

The *Heva*, Captain Lelievre, was the first French whaler at Akaroa this year, and she probably arrived about the end of 1839. The next was the *Ville de Bordeaux*, 826 tons, early in January, and an interesting account of her visit is given by Dr. Thiercelin, who was on board that whaler. The Doctor found, to his astonishment, when strolling around one day, a tent with all the appearances of European cultivation around it. It was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Green, who, with an assistant, had charge of a small farm and herd of cattle, and were carrying on regular farming operations. These were the cattle brought round by Captain Rhodes in the *Eleanor*. Mrs Green told the Doctor, in January, that the British were going to take possession of New Zealand, if they had not already done so.

The only other sign of the presence of Europeans was a little cabin, a chimney on which announced occupants of a different race from the Maoris. These were two English exiles who had one day disembarked from a ship which had come in for water, and had been left on the beach with all their baggage when the ship sailed away. The Robinsons, so their names were given to the Doctor, acted as "carcas-siers," as the French called them, collecting stray floating whales, or the intestines of whales already cut up and blown into the Bay, and melting them down to produce an inferior

class of oil, which they sold to the whalers. Among the English-speaking whalers these men were called "tonguers."

The *Ville de Bordeaux* afterwards sailed for Sydney, and there, on 8th June, was sold to Mr. J. Stewart for £3,200. The fault of this was said to be due to the bad conduct of her captain. M. David, of Bordeaux, was the owner.

When D'Urville called at Akaroa on 8th April, the *Heva* had gone round to Piraki, where also were the *Adele* and the *Pauline*. The only French whaler at Akaroa was the *Gange*, one of whose boats went to help the *Astrolabe* when it appeared that her fate was sealed. The *Gange* had only quitted France 9 months, but had completed her cargo and was to sail next day for home. The following day the captains of the three whalers at Piraki called and paid their respects to the French Commodore, and advantage was taken of the return home of the *Gange* to send the Expedition's Despatches to the French Government.

When D'Urville was at Otago, during the first week of April, the whaler *Havre*, commanded by Privat, was in the Bay. Privat had already met D'Urville at Conception Bay on the Chilian coast, where he had appealed to the French Commander for assistance to put down a revolt in his crew, and, having got rid of the source of his trouble, on his return to France, he now hoped to do well in these waters. He informed D'Urville that the French whalers were leaving the coast of Chili and making for Australia and New Zealand. Before the *Astrolabe* sailed, Privat applied for men to fill gaps in his crew, and D'Urville gave permission for any member of the Expedition, who cared to do so, to join him, but only one took advantage of the offer, received his kit, and transhipped.

The *Havre* remained on at Otago after D'Urville sailed, and later on was joined by the following, all of which were at Otago some time during May:—

The *Earnest* of Havre.

The *Elizabeth*, 16 mons. out, 1800 barrels. She

had been ashore, but had been got off with the loss of a windlass.

The *Oriental*, 14 mos. out, 1100 barrels, and

The *Rabance*, 6 mos. out, 900 barrels.

On 12th May, the *Ajax*, of Havre, anchored off Otago, while the captain and a boat's crew came on shore for supplies. While they were away from the ship a gale sprung up from the south-west and the *Ajax* was driven to sea. By the twenty-second of the month, when the American whaler, which reported the incident, left Otago, there had been no re-appearance of the French whaler. She was just commencing her cruise and had only 100 barrels on board.

In the middle of May the *Ocean*, of Havre, was in Cloudy Bay with 900 barrels, and the author thinks that this is the same French whaler which Captain Nias reported as present in the Bay when British sovereignty was proclaimed at the Pa on 10th June.

In April a French trader, the *Justine*, 265 tons, Lucas, of Bordeaux, visited Kapiti Island with a miscellaneous cargo of goods and passengers. From Kapiti she sailed for Cloudy Bay, and then on to Port Nicholson, where she arrived on 3rd May.

The application of Captain Privat of the *Havre* for men to supplement his crew brings up the question of desertion, which was very prevalent among the French whalers. When Lavaud came out in the *Aube*, in August, 1840, he investigated this question, and his report to the Minister of Marine put the position very clearly:—

“One of the causes of the trouble on board the ships that come to fish in such far-away seas is the lack of victuals. Often a ship destined for fishing for about two years, at least, ships victuals for only sixteen months, then the men, deprived of a part of the food to which they are accustomed, commence to murmur, oblige the ship to put into port to procure what they need and cannot always find. While in port the ship generally loses a part of her crew,

and is obliged, so as not to lose the fishing, to ship foreigners who, not accustomed to our "regime," are only one more cause to prevent the re-establishment of order.

"The number of French deserters in the colonies of Australia is more considerable than is thought; for the small number of whalers I have met, it really appals me. Every year France must lose through the whale-fishery quite a considerable number of subjects, the number of whom would be easily ascertained at Havre, and would, I am quite sure, astonish Your Excellency. I have closely questioned the Masters of the whalers about the causes of this desertion, and those capable of appreciating them have been unanimous of this opinion: The wages of the crew are not high enough, rarely does the seaman, after a long, painful and dangerous voyage, receive from 7 to 800 francs. The articles furnished to him during his contract, by the owners, are quoted at prices the double of their value: if he will not take them and prefers to buy them elsewhere, he must have money, and this money is given to him at 20 per cent. interest; in one word, everything in the whale fishery is contrary to his interests and the profits are divided between the owners, the master, and the officers.

"There are here on the fishing grounds more American ships than of any other nation, their voyages are generally longer than ours, and the crew returns to America without having deserted. Why is this so? Because the master gets only  $\frac{1}{16}$ th, the chief mate  $\frac{1}{30}$ th, the mate and junior officers from  $\frac{1}{15}$ th to the  $\frac{1}{70}$ th, whilst in France there are masters paid from  $\frac{1}{8}$ th to  $\frac{1}{16}$ th, chief mates from  $\frac{1}{16}$ th to  $\frac{1}{26}$ th, mates receiving  $\frac{1}{40}$ th, junior officers receiving  $\frac{1}{45}$ th. But it is for the seamen that the inverse difference is great, on board the American ships the harpooners, coopers, carpenters,



and smiths, are paid from 1/80th to 1/90th, the seamen from 1/100th to 1/120th, but nearly always 1/140th: it is the same with the master coopers, carpenters and smiths; the sailors (French) are, at the most, at 1/200th, and nearly all at 1/220th and at 1/230th, it is the same with some owners who do not hesitate to pay them at 1/250th. In this condition how is it possible to prevent the men, when they find an opportunity, to exchange their sad lot for a better future? The British seamen employed in our whalers are generally paid by the month at the rate of 75 to 80 francs.

“In the United States the oil generally brings from 35 to 40 francs a barrel, in France it is worth from 60 to 80, even 100 francs, but I suppose it hardly ever rises to more than 70 or 80 francs, even that is double the price in the United States: the fishing gear costs one-fifth less in the latter country than in France, the cost of mercantile navigation in both countries amounts to about the same; however, the American owners receive no ‘premium of encouragement,’ and yet they earn money, for the number of their whalers far from diminishing still increases; the truth is that the American whalers do not compete with one another in Oceania. It would be desirable that French owners were alive to this fact; there is little chance of success in ships that lose their men by desertion, and consequently there is no economy in not paying the men according to their just worth. They ought to lower the pay of the masters to 1/16th, that of the chief mates from 1/30th to 1/35th, that of the second mates from 1/45th to 1/50th, and that of the third mates to 1/60th; the harpooners, coopers, carpenters and smiths should receive from 1/100th to 1/110th; the seamen should be paid from 1/150th to 1/170th; the apprentices at the rate of 1/180th share, instead of

1/300ths, or 1/350th; the boys 1/300th, and not 1/400th, such as several receive. This is the only way I can see to avoid disorder, which will never be prevented by the presence of a war ship."

#### D'URVILLE'S EXPEDITION, 1840.

The French Government has always been, if not superior to our own, at any rate quite abreast of it in the number of Expeditions sent out for scientific research to the Pacific, and on to the New Zealand coast, and D'Urville, the most successful of all French navigators, was placed in command of one which we are now about to describe. The two vessels comprising it were the *Astrolabe* and the *Zelee*, and they set sail from France in 1837, but it was not until the early part of 1840 that they were at Hobart en route to New Zealand.

Aided by a favourable breeze the Expedition reached Sarah's Bosom on 10th March, after a voyage of five days from Tasmania, and the members saw, as they reached the Bay, a large vessel, and heard guns fired. This proved to be the brig *Porpoise* of the United States Expedition. The following day the *Astrolabe* entered the Bay and cast anchor.

Close to the beach was a small hut, built some time before by the sailors of the French whaler *Nancy*, which M. Dumoulin at once proceeded to make use of for his scientific work. On a low point which had been cleared by the whalers, was flying a red flag, marking the burial place of some men from whaling vessels. One of the graves had a wooden cross erected to the memory of M. Lefrancois of Nantes, who had committed suicide there in 1837, through grief at the failure of an invention of his for killing whales. The notice left by the *Porpoise* was found in the hut.

Though the United States brig had sailed, the Frenchmen were not alone. A Portuguese whaler, called the *Speculacao*, commanded by an Englishman named Robinson, had arrived there some five days before and had

cast anchor at the head of the Bay. Her boats, returning from a seal hunting expedition, made known to D'Urville her presence. The following day the whaler was visited and the Expedition learned that the Portuguese Government had given a subsidy to develop the whaling trade, and that this vessel was the first to be fitted out at Lisbon, five months before, and that she had made for the Auckland Islands after an unsuccessful cruise on the New Zealand coast.

During the stay of the *Astrolabe* and the *Zelee* their scientists took advantage of the kindness of Captain Robinson, and accompanied his whaling and sealing boats in their different expeditions. All made mention of the widely scattered indications of whalers' habitations, and of the success which attended the planting of potatoes and of vegetables generally.

After a very busy stay in Sarah's Bosom the Expedition sailed, on 20th March, for the South Coast of New Zealand.

Though the Snares were sighted on 22nd March, it was not until the twenty-sixth that the survey of the New Zealand coast-line could be taken up. When passing Pegasus Bay they were hailed by a boat manned by English sailors, the headman of which offered his services to pilot the ships in, but D'Urville decided not to delay, and contented himself with simply buying some fish and vegetables from the would-be pilots, paying them with arrack, biscuit, and money. He was told that there were about twenty English sailors settled on the shores of Foveaux Strait, and that they grew great quantities of provisions for the whaling ships which frequented the bays.

The next day the Expedition was across Foveaux Strait, and at 10 a.m. was visited by three whaleboats manned by Europeans from the whaling stations at Waikawa or Tautuku. The stay of these men on board was not prolonged, and they caused the impression on the French ships of being deserters from Sydney, or escapees from whalers,

to whom the surroundings of a man-of-war were not congenial.

On 30th March Otago was reached, and four ships were found lying at anchor; two were Americans, one English, and one French. The last named was the *Havre* under the command of Captain Privat, already mentioned.

D'Urville lost no time in landing his officers to carry on their scientific work, particularly in regard to the survey of the bay and the fixing of its position. The spot chosen for this was near the dwelling-place of the Europeans engaged in the whaling, and at the spot where the whales were brought to be cut up.

The French Commander's description of the condition of things he found at Otago shows us that the descriptions given by the Missionaries at the stations further north were not at all exaggerated.

The Maoris presented much the type of those D'Urville had seen on his former visits, but they were far from having gained from their contact with the sailors. Generally they were clothed in European fashion, but their clothing served only to incompletely cover their filthiness, and gave them the appearance of beggars covered with rags. They appeared to have renounced all ideas of independence, or any quality of warriors which they had once had, and passed their lives on board the ships in the bay, the men begging the Europeans to give them some scraps to eat, while the women, hideous to look upon, placed no limits upon the depth of degradation to which they were prepared to sink.

During the stay of the vessels the natives never ceased attempting to sell what they had, for money or European clothes. The provisions they offered consisted of pigs and potatoes, the price for a pig being from 16 to 18 shillings, but their flesh was disliked so much by the Frenchmen that D'Urville would not purchase them, and confined himself to buying the potatoes which were of excellent quality.

Taiaroa honoured D'Urville by calling upon that officer



when confined to the *Astrolabe* by the gout. The following description is given of the old Maori warrior:—

“Taiaroa presented himself on board the *Astrolabe*, accompanied by many of his people, clad like him, in rags. He told me that he had come to salute me, but I was not slow to see he had another design, that of fleecing me. During several hours that he passed on board he did nothing else but beg. He coveted above all cloth, of which he was very greedy, finally he showed himself under the light of a skilful rogue, more than in that of a chief of warriors. To rid myself of them, and in the interest of French vessels which might afterwards come to anchor in the Bay, I proceeded to give him some fathoms of cloth; but, far from satisfying him, this man of insatiable avidity wanted to put a higher price still on the protection he was incapable of, and of which he could not give any manifest proof. He became so pressing in his demands, that he ended by fatiguing me, and I turned my back upon him.”

D'Urville describes the conditions under which the European portion of the inhabitants lived. There were about a dozen small cottages surrounded with gardens containing all the vegetables of Europe. Two of these cottages were transformed into taverns which were habitually frequented by the fishermen, and the sailors off the whalers in the Bay, and, above all, by the Natives who came to spend their money as soon as they procured it. The proprietors of the taverns did an excellent business and perfectly understood the needs of the society in the midst of which they dwelt. They sold, at a high figure, the vilest of liquor.

Round the villages were small potato cultivations, and, in the forest, cultivations of potatoes, lettuce, and turnips. These belonged chiefly to Europeans, but the work was always performed by the Maori women, though at times payment in brandy would induce a man to undertake tillage. Following the invariable custom of civilized men when

residing with savages the Europeans led a life of indolence and disorder, abandoning all their work to their Native women, without whom they confessed they could not live.

On 3rd April, under direction of a local pilot, the Expedition crossed the bar and sailed for Akaroa.

On the journey along the coast great numbers of whales were sighted, and two whalers were passed, one showing French colours. At Akaroa the *Astrolabe* was nearly lost through the wind falling when she was in the middle of the entrance, and the ship being carried on to the western point. A favourable breeze, however, sprung up at the moment that the destruction of the commander's ship appeared certain, and enabled the sails to be filled and the vessel removed to a place of safety.

Of the two vessels at anchor in the Bay, one was the *Gange*, and one of her boats came to the help of the *Astrolabe* with a towline when that vessel was in trouble. Three other French whalers were at Piraki and their commanders at once repaired to Akaroa to meet D'Urville. They told him that Piraki was preferable for whalers; although the bay was more exposed to the S.W. winds than was Akaroa and vessels often had trouble while anchored, yet the boats were able to get out to the whales much more easily than in the larger bay.

While at anchor D'Urville sent one of his boats to transport a large anchor from the *Gange* to the *Heva*, at Piraki, and the officer who successfully carried out this work made a survey of Hempleman's little bay. The commander of the *Pauline*, also at anchor at Piraki, was supplied with some copper for repairs to his rudder.

D'Urville tells us that he spent a very pleasant day around and at the farm established at Akaroa under Mr. and Mrs. Green. By this time the dairy produce of the farm was available for the whaling ships which frequented the Bay, and the officers of the *Astrolabe* and *Zelee* obtained sufficient for their wants at a price which they considered quite reasonable.

Akaroa did not impress the Commander as a very good site for a colony. It appeared to him unsuitable to support anything like a numerous population, and he says that in choosing this place to found an establishment the French Government only considered the beauty of the port, the facilities for defending it, and the resources it offered to the whalers.

It is not known whether D'Urville knew that the arrangements made by his Government had miscarried, when he gave expression to this opinion, to cover their retreat. If it was a bona fide expression of his opinion, the history of New Zealand has shown its accuracy by placing the capital of the surrounding country on another site.

It will be noted that no attempt was made to hoist the French flag. It would have been in time had it been done.

The Expedition sailed for the Bay of Islands on 17th April and arrived at that port just as H.M.S. *Herald* was going out, southward bound, to proclaim British Sovereignty over the South Island.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE COMING OF THE CHURCH, 1835 TO 1840.

As far back as 1835 mention was made by Captain Robertson, when he reached Sydney on 22nd October, in the brig *Bee*, that Te Rauparaha had expressed himself as anxious to see a British settlement formed in Cook Strait, and to have a missionary stationed there. What prompted the old man-eater to formulate such a desire can only be a matter of speculation, in view of the small amount of information available to us.

The next missionary news comes from Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay in 1836. The *Martha* sailed from Sydney on 24th March for the North Island, and took with her as a passenger the Revd. Mr. White, a missionary of the Wesleyan Church, and his wife, bound for one of the northern West Coast ports. On her road she called in at Queen Charlotte Sound (Tory Channel), and Cloudy Bay, before proceeding to Kawhia, Manukau, Kaipara, and Hokianga. We have nothing definite of this visit, but shortly afterwards the reverend gentleman was removed from the mission for entering into trade with the natives.

The first Anglican clergyman's call was that of the Revd. Samuel Marsden, on returning from his last visit to New Zealand, as a passenger on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*. The aged cleric arrived at Cloudy Bay on 16th June, 1837, and sailed the following day, but short and all as his visit was he had been looking into the question of establishing a Mission. Writing to Mr. Jowett, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, immediately after his return to his home at Parramatta, Mr. Marsden said: "A missionary is wanted at Cook's Straits. I was informed there were 1500 natives in the Straits."

The first move in the direction of establishing a station was taken by the Wesleyan Missionaries on the West Coast



of the North Island. Early in 1839, when advised that a number of additional missionaries would be sent there from England, it was decided that some of them should be placed in the South. On 6th April the Revd. Mr. Bumby, the leading missionary of the Church in New Zealand, with the Revd. Mr. Hobbs, set out to the Bay of Islands, and there engaged a small vessel called the *Hokianga*, to take them round by the East Coast, and, after calling at Cook Strait, land them again at Kawhia, from whence they could walk overland to their homes.

Returning to Mangungu to say good-bye to their friends, they gathered together some twenty Maori youths, chiefly prisoners who had been taken by the local natives in their southern wars, and who, having been liberated through their masters becoming Christians, had been educated by the missionaries. These young men belonged to tribes which were now resident on the shores of Cook Strait, and it was naturally thought, that if restored to their relations as missionaries, which they themselves were very anxious to be, they would prove effective instruments for the spread of Christianity among their own people. This imposing party set out from Mangungu on 11th May for the Bay of Islands, and, after a short delay there through bad weather, set sail for the south.

The journey in the little *Hokianga* was an exceedingly rough one, but at last they reached Port Nicholson where they were met by "a grotesque party of natives, some bedaubed with red ochre and oil, and others disfigured about the cheeks and eyebrows with congealed blood." It was not long before they were recognised as returned relatives and friends, and then began a tangi "grim and great." After this had calmed down a little, tents were erected and a feed of potatoes and Indian corn set before them. During the day some of the visiting youths drunk at a "tapued" stream and one of the Chiefs came to the Revd. Mr. Bumby and demanded satisfaction. All the satisfaction he received, however, was to be persuaded to remove the "tapu" and come and listen to divine service,

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which was held for the first time in Port Nicholson, that evening.

Mr. Bumby had with him a copy of the work on the Colonization of New Zealand, issued by the New Zealand Association in London in 1837, and noticed the inaccurate description of the "Heritaona River," where, instead of finding a navigable river, the party was almost wrecked in a whaleboat. Here was met the only white man—Robinson—residing at Port Nicholson. He was engaged building a boat, a very slow work where he had to manufacture all his nails from hoop iron at a wooden fire. There were numerous settlements on the shores of the harbour and the Maoris were of a milder aspect and gentler carriage than those Mr. Bumby had been accustomed to in the North.

On Sunday all the natives from near and from far were gathered together, and the Revd. Mr. Hobbs preached to them on the beach in front of one of the principal settlements. Warepouri, a principal chief of the place, asked to have a missionary established among them, and everywhere they went the same desire was expressed. Mr. Bumby concluded that this would be a suitable place for a station, and "tapued a piece of land of the proprietors, two respectable chiefs, for some blankets and fish hooks." What exactly was meant by the land being "tapued" is explained by Mr. Bumby in these words: "The tapu secures to us the privilege of purchase, if we should fix upon the place for a missionary settlement." The land does not appear actually to have been bought, but the Church secured what might be called an "option" over the land, that option being to buy it, if it should be fixed upon as a place for a settlement. The price paid for this option was some blankets and fish-hooks.

In all, a week was spent at Port Nicholson, and a number of the lads, whom they had brought down to leave among their old tribe as teachers, were supplied with books, slates, pencils, &c., for the schools they were to establish. When it came to the hour of parting the young protégés of the Mission were almost broken hearted.

The departing guests were loaded with abundance of pigs and potatoes.

This was certainly the first establishment, by Europeans, of a mission among the Maoris of Port Nicholson, and the author regrets that his source of information, though written by Mr. Bumby on 29th August, 1839, does not give the precise date of the visit. It must, however, have been about the middle of June of that year.

The next place visited was Cloudy Bay, where they met some 150 natives and held service among them. Here the missionaries received anything but the welcome which had been extended to them at Port Nicholson. Although the Maoris themselves clamoured for hymn and prayer books, the numerous Europeans connected with the whaling establishments showed them so plainly that they were not wanted, that Mr. Bumby reported to his Committee, "I am persuaded, if Missionary operations were commenced here, there would be more opposition from civilized Europeans than from the untutored barbarians."

The visit to Queen Charlotte Sound, now known to us as Tory Channel, evoked from Bumby the strongest expressions of admiration of the grandeur of the scenery, and condemnation of the wickedness of its European inhabitants. He says, under the latter heading:—

"There may be about fifty Europeans connected with the whaling establishments of this place; some of whom present specimens of human nature in its worst state. Dwelling in the region of the valley of the shadow of death they practice every species of iniquity without restraint and without concealment. The very sense of decency and propriety seems to be extinct. The very soil is polluted. The very atmosphere is tainted."

These words remind us of the description given by Lieutenant Chetwode of H.M.S. *Pelorus*.

In spite of the awful moral surroundings, which Lieutenant Chetwode and the Revd. J. H. Bumby describe as existing among the Europeans at this Cetacean Golgotha,

the latter tells us that the Natives had turned to the Christian religion, kept the Sabbath day as civilized beings, and held religious services twice a day. In place of the tinkle of the bell to summon the worshippers, the necessary intimation was made by striking with stones, old musket barrels suspended by cords. Unable, from want of weapons, to turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, they converted their old used-out muskets into church bells, and, amongst their awful "civilized" surroundings, did what they could to spread the Christian religion among their "barbarian" people. Education, as with us in the Middle Ages, flourished under the shadow of this primitive Church, and a few of the young people were reported as able to read, while all were willing to learn. Some few fragments of a translation of the New Testament, dirty, but carefully preserved, were found among the young Natives, one of whom had learned to write, and having obtained some paper, had begun to multiply copies. Under these circumstances we are not surprised to learn that, when the Missionaries were leaving, many followed their boat until up to their middle in the water, begging to get books. Mr. Bumby truly says, "I suppose ours was the first vessel that ever visited the Sound on an errand of mercy to the natives."

From Tory Channel the party proceeded to Mana and visited Te Rauparaha, whom they found sitting in state under his own roof.

"The house in which we found him was larger than the generality of native habitations; but the space which served for door, window, and chimney, was so low and narrow, that it was all we could do, crawling on our hands and knees to get through it. Two large tubs of oil stood at each end of the apartment, with immense burners, filling the place with smoke, and rendering darkness visible. About thirty natives, warriors and slaves, were laid at full length, in various directions, on the floor. The place was as hot as a stove, with an atmosphere so thick and



impure, as to be scarcely breathable. The Chief expressed himself as glad to see us, pressed us to sit near him, and wished to enter into a long conversation; but, after singing and prayer, we were glad to make our exit, giving him to understand that at our next meeting we would more fully state the object of our visit."

The following morning Te Rauparaha had breakfast with the Missionaries on board the *Hokianga*, and, as was invariably the case with Maori Chiefs, was a model of good behaviour. He expressed a wish to have a Missionary, and promised all sorts of good things if one were given him. On leaving, Mr. Bumby assigned to him, as a teacher, a young Maori, bearing the appropriate name of Paul, and considered to be one of the most clever and pious of the Mission lads.

Kapiti was then visited, but it was found that, although there were some eighty Europeans connected with the whaling establishments, there were but few natives, and these were scattered about over the place. The Island had shortly before been visited by influenza, and the Natives declining proper treatment, had perished in large numbers.

After calling at the Sugar Loaf Islands at Taranaki and distributing some religious literature among the Maoris there, the party sailed for Kawhia, where they disembarked.

When Colonel Wakefield, the representative of the New Zealand Company, was at Tory Channel, on 16th October, he was told that a Missionary schooner had visited Port Nicholson, with a message to the Natives not to sell their land, and that the Revd. Hy. Williams would shortly be among them. Three days afterwards the Colonel sailed into Port Nicholson, and the Chiefs told him that the schooner, of which he had heard, had left some Missionary teachers, and that, in compliance with Mr. Williams' instructions, they had built houses and chapels in readiness for that gentleman's arrival.

There is some confusion in this information given to Wakefield. The reference to the teachers who came in the

schooner was to those whom Bumby and Hobbs had left from the *Hokianga*, in or about the month of June, and the houses and chapels built were those placed on the land over which the Missionaries had secured the "option." The explanation is probably that given by E. J. Wakefield as having been obtained afterwards from Mr. Bumby. Richard Davis, one of the teachers left by that gentleman at Port Nicholson, had been trained by Mr. Williams, but became a Wesleyan, when the Wesleyan Expedition was being fitted out for Cook Strait, offered his services and was taken. Shortly after being put in charge of a "station" at Port Nicholson, he left the Wesleyans and went back to the Anglicans, spread the tenets of his first love, and prepared the way for the coming of the Anglican Church. It was an action that, while not uncommon in civilized communities, is not generally looked for in the clerical profession.

Colonel Wakefield tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the services of this teacher, Richard Davis, as a witness to the sale of the land by the Maoris. According to Wakefield he wanted too much for himself. Probably both were to blame. Wakefield would be more than human, if "Reihana," in the interests of his people, opposed the sale, and then received "honourable mention" in Wakefield's Journal. What is beyond challenge, however, is that the land covered by the "option," with the houses and chapels thereon, was sold with the rest.

On 7th November the Revd. Hy. Williams arrived. Te Rauparaha had sent his son and another native to the Mission at Paihia, and had asked to have a station established in the midst of his people. The Revd. Williams was so strongly in favour of the proposal that he offered to go himself, but this could not be agreed to, and it was decided that he should take down the Revd. O. Hadfield and establish him within the Kapiti Chief's domain.

The Missionary schooner—the *Columbine*—set sail on 21st October, and, meeting adverse winds in Cook St., called in at Port Nicholson on 7th November. Here the

reverend gentleman obtained full information from Reihana of the sale of the land to Colonel Wakefield, and was told that the Maori teacher had reserved his own portion of the land. The report of the result of mission work, both in the Bay and to the north, was very gratifying.

The following day Mr. Williams tried to reach Kapiti, but was forced to stand over to Cloudy Bay, where, on the tenth, he held service among the Europeans, and formed quite a different opinion to that formed by Bumby, only some five months before. After conversation with Guard and Wing(?) at the Bay he appears to have been quite satisfied of the desire of the natives for instruction, and of the willingness of these two Europeans to render help.

On the twelfth, Mr. Williams made another attempt to reach Kapiti, and returned to Port Nicholson to walk overland. Mr. Hadfield's illness at this juncture was a source of great anxiety, but everything went well and they all arrived safely opposite Mana Island on the fifteenth. During the day Mr. Williams met Nayti, the Maori who had come out in the *Tory* with Colonel Wakefield, and from him learnt what the Agent of the Company was doing.

On Saturday, the sixteenth, Rangihæta was visited on the Island, and on Sunday a service was held at Porirua on the mainland, attended by about ten Europeans and a number of Natives. The following day the party moved on towards Waikanae.

On Tuesday, the nineteenth, Mr. Williams obtained an interview with Te Rauparaha, and was in his company until Friday. The old Chief was particularly gratified that Mr. Hadfield had come to live among them, and gave all sorts of promises to turn over a new leaf. It was also arranged that Mr. Williams should go down to the South Island and make a permanent peace with Taiaroa, the hereditary foe of Te Rauparaha. This had, however, to be abandoned. A visit was paid to the battlefield at Waikanae, where Te Rauparaha's people were defeated by those belonging to that place. Here were visible many

signs that Christianity had secured a hold upon them. Instead of being eaten, the dead warriors were buried with musket and ammunition, with full military honours. The old chapel which had been abandoned on account of the war, the new one, where religious services were held every Sunday, and the schools scattered over the place, gave ocular demonstration of the power of the preacher and of the teacher as civilizing agents.

The Revd. Hy. Williams thus speaks of what he found:

“These chapels, and many others around, were built through the influence of a young man instructed in the Paihia school, named Matahau. He lived many years with my brother, and afterwards with me, and returned, many years ago, to his relations at this place, among whom he has laboured with astonishing zeal and perseverance. He has taught many to read, and has instructed numbers, as far as he is able, in the truths of the Gospel, so that many tribes for some distance around, call themselves Believers, keep the Lord’s Day, assemble for worship, and use the Liturgy of the Church of England. The schools, also, are numerous. I felt that our boy, Matahau, had set an example which ought to rouse Missionaries to every exertion, and act as a powerful appeal to the friends of the Society at Home.”

There is no doubt, of course, that this statement is literally true; it would not have been written by Williams had it not been. We must, however, limit its application to what Williams found on the mainland, in the vicinity of Otaki and Waikanae. Bumby had left one teacher with Te Rauparaha on Mana Island, several at Port Nicholson, and, though not specifically stated by him, there is evidence that he left men at Cloudy Bay and at Te Awaiti. Both Wakefield and Dieffenbach speak of a native teacher in Cannibal Cove, who had taught many to read and write, and who conducted regular service there as early as August, 1839. The latter authority also mentions that at two



villages, called Wangenui and Okokurri, situated on beaches near Te Awaiti, Wesleyan Native Missionaries were established. The same remarks apply to Moioio Island in Tory Channel. These cases are quoted to show that others than Mr. Williams's hero were engaged in the **Master's work**, and had done yeoman's service. It would also have provided us with a fine example of liberality if Mr. Williams had frankly admitted that a rival denomination to his own had also done good work in Cook Strait.

The author does not want Mr. Williams and Matahau to have less credit than they are entitled to, and he suggests that probably the visit of the native lad was the cause of Te Rauparaha asking for a Missionary as far back as 1835.

Before Mr. Williams left, it was arranged that Mr. Hadfield should occupy Waikanae and Otaki as main stations; having a horse he could ride from one to the other in an hour and a half, and could keep a general oversight of the villages round about. While arranging this matter several days were spent in preventing a conflict between the different tribes, and in going from place to place preaching in the little chapels.

At last everything was completed, and Mr. Williams took his departure for home, going overland. Proceeding coastwise he reached the Rangitikei, ascended it for some distance, then crossed over to the Wanganui, and by that stream went into the interior, reaching Tauranga on 9th January, 1840, after one of the most difficult journeys on foot which have ever been taken in New Zealand.

About a month after the Revd. Hy. Williams had set out from the East Coast, the District Meeting of the Wesleyan Mission on the West Coast sent the Revd. James Buller to Cook Strait, to secure the sites already chosen by Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs, and to initiate the new mission. Mr. Buller set out on the 27th November and reached Pipiriki, on the Wanganui River, on 11th January, at one stage of his journey just missing the Revd. Hy. Williams by a few hours.

Five days after reaching Pipiriki Mr. Buller reached Otaki, and the following day dined in Mr. Hadfield's tent at Waikanae, after which he crossed, in that gentleman's boat, to Kapiti, to interview Te Hiko. After spending two days at Kapiti Mr. Buller sailed for Mana Island to see Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeta, but bad weather coming up prevented him reaching the Island, and the party had to be content with making the Porirua River.

It was only a few hours walk from Porirua to Port Nicholson, where Mr. Buller first visited Petone and found the Company's ship *Cuba*, which had brought out the surveyors, lying at anchor. From Petone Mr. Buller went overland to Te Aro, the site of Wellington, and was received by Mohi and his friends, the native teachers whom Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs had left there some seven months before. There was only one white man on shore—an Australian named Todd—and he lived in a wattle and dab-house.

While Mr. Buller was at Te Aro, the first load of immigrants arrived from England in the *Aurora*, on 22nd January, and on Sunday, 26th January, Mr. Buller went on board and preached the first sermon the immigrants heard in their adopted land.

Mr. Buller found that the position of the proposed mission station was in a hopeless state of confusion, owing to the vague and ill-defined purchases made by Colonel Wakefield. The small plot of ground selected by Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs had gone with the general sale of the whole Bay. The actual proprietors of the mission lot had not sold or agreed to sell, but the entire harbour had been disposed of by certain chiefs, and some of the proprietors of the land sold to the missionaries had accepted a share of the payment. A house was built on the land, and the natives were very anxious that Mr. Buller should remain, but he felt that things had altered so much since his instructions from the District Meeting had been received that he should return and have the position reviewed.

Some time before Mr. Buller arrived at Port Nicholson—during the first week in December—Colonel Wakefield, who had gone north to complete the Company's title to the northern lands purchased from the original New Zealand Company of 1825, met Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs and told these gentlemen that he had purchased the lands they had "tapued" from the Natives. E. J. Wakefield does not cover up the fact that the Company was holding the land in question, and says that Colonel Wakefield promised that "he would be at all times ready, in fulfilment of his instructions from the Company, to reserve a sufficient place in the future town for the location of a chapel and mission house of each of the two stations."

Taking passage in the *Atlas* for the Bay of Islands, a week's boisterous passage landed Mr. Buller at the Bay of Islands, in the midst of the preparations for the great gathering of natives at Waitangi to consider the terms of a Treaty for the cession of the sovereignty of New Zealand to the Queen of England.

The honours of the coming of the Church to Cook Strait were fairly divided between Wesleyan and Anglican. The first native teacher was Ripahau, an Anglican; the first visiting missionary was Mr. White, a Wesleyan; the first mission stations established were the Wesleyan ones, by Bumby and Hobbs; the first European preacher stationed was Mr. O. Hadfield, an Anglican; finally the first service preached to the Company's immigrants was by Mr. Buller, a Wesleyan.

Coming to the representatives of the Church who came out as members of the New Zealand Company's Expedition, we find that the *Tory* and the *Cuba*, with the Company's officers on board, and the *Aurora* on 22nd January, the *Oriental* on 31st January, and the *Duke of Roxburgh* on 7th February, all from London, arrived at Port Nicholson and unloaded their immigrants, without being accompanied by a single Minister of religion. It was not until the first Scotch vessel—the *Bengal Merchant* from Glasgow—arrived on 21st February, that a clergyman, in the person of the Revd. John Macfarlane of the Kirk of Scotland, was

available to minister to the wants of the new arrivals. Even after the *Adelaide* and the *Glenbervie* arrived from London on 7th March, he was the only clergyman in the Settlement, until the *Bolton* landed the Revs. J. T. Churton and J. G. Butler of the Anglican Church, on the 21st April. Mr. Butler had already been in New Zealand as a missionary of the C.M.S., and held a Commission of the Peace from a former Governor of New South Wales.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society did not confine its attention to Cook Strait only, its members very early directed themselves to the task of providing a missionary for the Southern natives. The man selected for this work was the Revd. James Watkin, who had been a Missionary in the Friendly Islands, but was now residing in Sydney with his family. The English Conference of 1839 had already fixed Mr. Watkin as one of two Missionaries to be stationed at Kapiti and Mana Islands but that was now altered, and arrangements were made with "Johnny" Jones for this conveyance to Waikouaiti, Jones very generously providing free carriage for Mr. Watkin, his wife and family, and all their possessions, and giving a donation of £50 to the Mission funds.

On 1st May Mr. Watkin, with Mrs. Watkin and five children, set sail in the *Regia* from Sydney, and, after a fairly adventurous passage of nine days, sighted Solander Islands on the tenth. A succession of calms delayed the *Regia* off Otago Heads for a few days, and she did not cast anchor in Waikouaiti Harbour until the sixteenth. The following day was Sunday, and Mr. Watkin preached his first sermon in New Zealand from 1 Timothy I. 15, "This is a fearful saying." The Reverend gentleman had not yet learnt Maori, so the discourse had, per force, to be in English, and was listened to by a number of men from the whaling station, and also by a number of the agriculturists whom Jones had sent down only a short time before, and who were now employed at Matanaka, only a short distance away.

It was at first intended that the Mission should be established at the agricultural settlement and not at the



whaling station; but after visiting the former, Mr. Watkin decided upon the latter as the better place for the carrying on of a Mission among the Maoris, which was the more important part of his work. A hut was accordingly got ready for him at Waikouaiti, and by the twenty-sixth he found himself in a manse, though the accommodation it provided quite ignored the fact that there were seven members in his household.

Setting himself with diligence to acquire the language, he was at once faced with the difference between it and that of the dialect of the North in which the Missionary publications were all printed, compelling him to set to work to construct an alphabet, and write up the language himself, before he could issue any literature to his flock. But the language difficulty was not the only one: he could see that the whalers regarded him as a check upon their licentiousness, and a friend of those they plundered, and, if the whalers at Waikouaiti were like those described by Chetwode and Bumby, in Cook Strait, and by D'Urville, at Otago, the Missionary was in anything but an enviable position. There was also the climate to be contended with. A long residence in the tropics and at Sydney made the climate of Waikouaiti feel very inhospitable to Mr. and Mrs. Watkin, but to the children, who had been born in the tropics, the cold felt intense.

Mr. Watkin had established his station at Waikouaiti, and had instituted European services at that place and at Matanaka, and was hard at work mastering the language to extend his ministrations to the Maori, when the *Herald's* guns at Port Underwood declared to the World that he was on British soil, and there we must leave the first European preacher of the Gospel and his devoted wife, at their Master's work.

Through the kindness of the Revd. Dr. Edwin J. Watkin of St. Kilda, Melbourne (one of the five children of 73 years ago), the author is able to supply the reader with a copy of Mr. Watkin's Journal (Appendix G), describing his voyage across, his arrival, and the first difficulties encountered.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE COMING OF THE COMPANY, 1839 AND 1840.

It is not intended to take up the history of the New Zealand Company prior to the arrival of its pioneer ship on the New Zealand coast. The origin and growth of the Company is so intimately associated with the steps which the British Government took to obtain possession of the country, that no history of it would be complete which did not deal with that event, and it is not convenient here to go into matters which relate to New Zealand as a whole, rather than the southern portion of it.

The *Tory* was the first vessel sent away by the Company from London. She was under the command of Captain E. M. Chaffers, and had a number of the advance officers of the Company on board. Of these, there were in the cabin, Colonel and E. J. Wakefield; Dieffenbach, naturalist; Heaphy, draughtsman; Dorset, surgeon; and Nayti, a Maori who had been taken to Europe in the French whaler *Mississippi*, after whaling in Cloudy Bay in 1836, interpreter; while in the steerage were R. Doddrey, storekeeper; and Colonel Wakefield's servant. There were thus eight passengers. The *Tory* sighted land on 16th August, and next night cast anchor at the mouth of Ship Cove. As in the case of Cook, so now, Natives were early on the scene, and many had already arrived on deck and tendered their services as pilots, before the anchor was let down.

The following day—Sunday—was spent in warping into the Cove and mooring to a tree, as near as possible in the position occupied by Cook during his visits to the same Cove. Early in the day a visit was received from a party of Admiralty Bay natives, *en route* to Cloudy Bay with pigs and potatoes to sell to the whalers. This was the first news Captain Chaffers received of the presence of what is now known as Tory Channel, and of Te Awaiti, which is rather

remarkable, as Cook describes a visit to this waterway during his last visit to the Sound. As his chart, however, was made during his first visit, the fact that he afterwards found an opening to the Strait has very often been overlooked.

The period from 18th to 31st August was spent at anchor in Cook's old Cove, getting supplies of wood, water, and food, for the requirements of the ship, and of her passengers and crew. The *Tory* had received fairly heavy punishment during her passage, and timber had to be shipped for new studding-sail booms.

Captain Chaffery had only one occasion for alarm while at anchor. The Cove was tapu when the *Tory* cast anchor in it, on account of Te Hiko, the owner, having recently buried a child there. One day a chief, "Dog Skin," demanded "utu" for the broken "tapu," and on being refused, stole a fishing seine. When the Captain went on shore to obtain restitution the demeanour of the Natives was such that he at once returned and prepared the ship for eventualities. A boat load of Natives came off, looking like mischief, but seeing all hands armed and ready, retired. The incident passed over without a breach of the peace.

Colonel Wakefield and Dieffenbach spent a large portion of their time ashore, or visiting the various portions of the Sound and gaining what information they could from the Maoris, with the result that they early decided that Queen Charlotte Sound, magnificent as were its shipping facilities, was not suited for the site of the new settlement. On 29th August, Wakefield, prevented from going himself, sent Mr. Doddrey, the storekeeper, through to Te Awaiti, and the following day that officer returned with Williams, the carpenter of the settlement, and Arthur Elmslie, who lived at Te Awaiti, whaling during the season, and for the rest of the year was, and had been for five years, a resident of Cannibal Cove. It was a strange coincidence that Colonel Wakefield had in his possession a letter from Elmslie's father, addressed to the son, suggesting to him to accept employment in the Company's service.

Aided by these two whalers, the *Tory*, now thoroughly provisioned with pork and potatoes, was got under weigh, and set sail for Te Awaiti, on Saturday, 31st August. After an interesting voyage, with boats towing ahead to keep the ship in the channel while passing through Tory Channel, the anchor was dropped near the whaling establishment of Te Awaiti at six in the evening. The first visitor was Richard Barrett, afterwards to figure so prominently in the land sales to the Company, and a merry party it was, says Wakefield, that sat round their "grog" that night in the cabin of the *Tory*.

On Sunday morning the passengers went ashore, "after prayers," says E. J. Wakefield, and obtained their first experience of a whaling station. In the water, hugh sunken carcasses of whales, on shore, great skulls, vertebrae, shoulder blades, and ribs, met the eye, while the soil was impregnated with the smell of oil, and the air was loaded with the stench of decayed whale. But the dead carcasses, and the bone, and the oil, and the stench, meant riches and wealth to the whalers, and the author has no doubt that "Dick" Barrett's description of the scene would differ very materially from that given by E. J. Wakefield. Two stations were found at Te Awaiti, one presided over by Barrett, and the other by Geo. Thoms; and a third was in a neighbouring cove, controlled by Jas. Jackson. The last-named very strongly urged on Colonel Wakefield the merits of the Pelorus as a site for his settlement, and first called his attention to John Guard, who had piloted Lieutenant Chetwode when he made his survey. Largely through Jackson's representations Wakefield decided to have a look at the Pelorus before going further, and Guard was sent for to Port Underwood to pilot him round.

Everything was ready by Friday morning and Colonel Wakefield set out with his nephew, J. Guard, Mr. Wynen, an intending settler, and a Cloudy Bay Chief who had some influence over the Natives at Admiralty Bay, to see whether the glowing terms in which the Pelorus country was described were justified. The boat was manned by Natives,



and proceeded *viâ* Tory Channel round Jackson's Head, as far as a little cove opposite the Admiralty Islands, the first night. So far as beauty was concerned the River was of a class by itself, and timber of the finest quality covered the magnificent mountains, and feathered game of all kinds could be got ashore; but as a site for a Settlement it possessed little value, and by Monday, Wakefield had started to retrace his steps.

On the Tuesday, as they were returning, Jackson appeared in a whaleboat manned by Europeans. He had taken a lively interest in the expedition and feared that Guard and Wynen might, by procuring earlier information than he of what Wakefield's decision would be, secure some advantage over him. He therefore followed up to learn for himself. With his superior crew he returned at once to Te Awaïti. With the slow-going Maori crew Wakefield was caught by bad weather at Jackson's Head, and did not reach Te Awaïti until 3 p.m. on Monday, the sixteenth.

Unattractive as the Pelorus was Wakefield intended to purchase it, if only for a harbour of refuge, or an approach to any open country which might be found at the back. The eagerness with which his movements had been followed, and the manifest intention of intending settlers to purchase land where the site of the new Settlement was to be, together with information from Port Nicholson of missionary hostility to his actions, determined Wakefield that no time should be lost, and that he should proceed across the Strait at once, leaving the Pelorus negotiations until a later date. As an intermediary with the Natives, Barrett was selected, and put, with his wife, family and retinue, in the "tween decks" of the *Tory*, and a Te Awaïti combination of honest whaler-carpenter-sawyer-trader named Smith was employed to represent the Company after the land purchase was completed. With this cargo the *Tory* awaited a favourable wind to cross the Strait. At daylight on Friday, the twentieth the elements were favourable, and she sailed.

Barrett was in many respects a remarkable man. "Dressed in a white jacket, blue dungaree trousers, and

round straw hat, he seemed perfectly round all over; while his jovial, ruddy face, twinkling eyes, and good-humoured smile, could not fail to excite pleasure in all beholders." Outside of personal appearance and temperament he had other sources of influence. He was related by marriage with the principal Chiefs of Port Nicholson, where Wakefield hoped to establish the Settlement; he had also lived among his wife's people as a flax trader at the Sugar Loaf Islands in Taranaki; had taken part with them in the defence of Nga-motu; and, when tribal disasters had driven them south, had shared the risks of their migration and had finally taken up his abode at Te Awaiti as a whaler. The ground which Wakefield sought to acquire had been New Zealand's great battle ground for the preceding six years, and there was not an incident in that sanguinary contest that Barrett did not know, a most important thing when Native titles came to be considered.

The *Tory* cast anchor at the north of Somes Island, and about half a mile from the sandy beach of Petone, but before she did so the two leading chiefs, E. Puni and Wharepouri had already come on board and expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of their lands being bought for a white Settlement. At this time, in spite of the great number of Europeans in Cook Strait, only one white man—Joe Robinson—lived in Port Nicholson. He had been there for two years, and had built a boat of eight tons, with timber sawn with a handsaw, and nails made from old hoops.

The Colonel lost no time in making himself familiar with the Harbour and its surroundings, so far as these could be reached by boat, and on Monday, 23rd September, the first korero with the Natives took place at Wharepouri's pa. Though the Natives were not unanimous, a decision favourable to the sale was arrived at. The following day the second korero took place at the principal village near the *Tory's* anchorage, and again the Natives came to the decision to sell.

In regard to the price, which up to this time had not

been mentioned, Wakefield invited them to come on board the following day when he would show them what he was prepared to pay. They came, but it was Thursday before the goods were ready for their inspection. The price was satisfactory, a parchment deed was prepared, and the goods were arranged into parcels to be transported to the headquarters of the different tribes. On Friday the Deed was executed and the goods sent by the ship's boats to the various places indicated. On Monday the thirtieth, the New Zealand flag was hoisted on shore and saluted with 21 guns, and a great Maori war-dance and review completed the ceremonial portion of the sale. Mr. Smith was now put into possession, with instructions to get things ready for the immigrants which were shortly to arrive, by inducing the Natives to erect dwellings, plant potatoes, and get together great numbers of pigs.

On 4th October, Wakefield sailed for Cloudy Bay, where he found the *Honduras*, which had come up from the southern whaling stations and was loading with oil. He also learned that Guard and Wymen, who had accompanied him to the Pelorus, were now themselves in treaty with the Natives for the land there, thinking, doubtless, that Wakefield had no intention of purchasing it from the owners, who were resident at Cloudy Bay. Advantage was taken of the presence of the *Honduras* to send mail matter to England.

As Barrett had returned to Te Awaiti for a visit, and had not yet put in an appearance, Wakefield took the *Tory* round to the Sound when he found that Mrs. Barrett's illness prevented him getting the services of his popular interpreter for his visit to Te Rauparaha, and he had to be content to fill the vacancy with John Brooks, a Cloudy Bay sawyer and good Maori linguist. While at Tory Channel four of the sailors got their discharges and two others deserted.

On the sixteenth, the *Tory* made Kapiti Island, and found that, during the morning, Te Rauparaha's friends had been defeated in a bloody battle fought on the mainland at

Waikanae, and the crafty old general had been compelled to seek personal safety by plunging through the surf and regaining his canoe. In this terrified mental condition he had seen the *Tory*, and, thinking her a man-of-war sent to punish him, had fled to Tom Evans' whaling station. There he appears to have been fortified sufficiently to send word over to Wakefield where he was, and that gentleman lost no time in interviewing him.

The temperament of Te Rauparaha and his relation to the outside world made the task of securing the sale of the land here a very different thing from the Port Nicholson undertaking. The war on the mainland between the two principal tribes was another difficulty. However, at the second interview, Te Rauparaha was converted by the persuasive eloquence of Wakefield, and the few days the *Tory* was off the Island would have been fewer still but for bad weather and Te Hiko's illness. At the last moment Te Rauparaha's greed, and his jealousy of Te Hiko, almost brought the negotiations to a close, and only the calmness of Wakefield, in the face of a physical demonstration of a most trying character, restored order, and, after a day or two's delay, brought the rival Chiefs together, when they signed the Deed of Conveyance, took their guns ashore, and arranged for the other Chiefs to come off and do likewise.

Everything being fixed up from the point of view of the Kawhia Chiefs resident at Kapiti and Mana Islands, Wakefield turned his attention to the mainland, and, on 27th October crossed over and discussed the question of sale with the Waikanae Natives. They were willing, only too willing, but the payment had to be guns and powder, a form of barter which Wakefield was not quite so well provided with as were the Sydney traders. Postponing the completion of the sale until the Natives would be in a more settled condition, he did what he could to bring about peace by taking over three of the Chiefs to talk over matters with Te Rauparaha. He accepted their assurance that they would sell no land until his return, and got such an appearance of amity established, that the three Chiefs remained



with Te Rauparaha while Wakefield himself pushed on to Queen Charlotte Sound to effect the purchase of the lands there.

While the *Tory* was at Kapiti, Nayti, who had come in the Company's Expedition from London, with all sorts of explanation of his conduct, gave way to the call of the whare and of the blanket, and returned to his countrymen.

Arrived at East Bay, in Queen Charlotte Sound, Wakefield set himself to gather together the various tribes, to complete the sale. He first crossed over to Te Awaiti, and, with Barrett, visited the Native villages in the locality. Here he found all in a state of ferment on account of the war at Waikanae, and men were getting ready in great numbers to cross over and avenge the attack on their friends. They were induced, however, to postpone their warlike preparations and adjourn *en masse* to East Bay to discuss the proposed sale. On Saturday, 2nd November, the sale was agreed to; on Monday, the purchase money was inspected and approved; but bad weather prevented the completion of the contract until Friday.

Both at Port Nicholson and at Kapiti the purchase "money" had been divided in a proper and businesslike manner, but on this occasion one of the smaller tribes was unable to effect its division without a "scramble."

"I was in the tween decks," says E. J. Wakefield, "when it began; and, hearing a loud and continued stamping on the deck, thought the natives were 'rushing' or attacking the ship. Under this impression I sprang aft to obtain a weapon of defence from among those always ready in the cabin. On my way I met Witi, one of the Chiefs of a tribe which had effected a quiet division; and he reassured me by telling me that no harm would be done to the white people, and that I had better go up in the rigging and look upon the way in which the Natives divided their goods.

"Following his advice I clambered up into the longboat between the masts, and was at first bewildered at the sight. About one hundred and fifty

natives were piled above the various heaps of goods, writhing, struggling, stamping, pulling each others' hair and limbs, tearing blankets, shivering whole cases of pipes and looking-glasses, and withal yelling and screaming in the most deafening manner. Some of the wildest had stripped naked. Disengaging themselves for a moment from the mass, they tightened the thong of their tomahawk-handle round their wrist and prepared to plunge into the thickest of the mass, where some dearly-prized article was in contention among a heap of furies. . . . The combatants looked exceedingly crestfallen as they gathered up the remains of the broken things; but took especial pains to tell us that it was no fault of ours, but the *porangi*, or "foolishness" of the Maori."

The following day Wakefield went ashore and took possession of the purchased territory, giving the names North and South Durham to the area acquired on the two sides of Cook Strait.

After returning to Kapiti some of the Natives belonging to that place, the *Tory* was detained for about a week by calms, during which time some Wanganui Chiefs, who were assisting their allies at Waikanae, came on board and sold their interests to Wakefield, arranging at the same time to send a representative with him to get the transaction completed on the ground. This plan was, however, frustrated by bad weather at the mouth of the River, and the danger of a lee shore compelled Captain Chaffey to sail on and postpone the completion of the negotiation until a later date.

A remnant of the once populous Taranaki tribes dwelt on the Sugar Loaf Islands. These were visited, and Barrett and Dr. Dieffenbach sent ashore, the former to arrange for a sale by the Natives, the latter to ascend Mt. Egmont and explore the surrounding country, the *Tory* meantime proceeding to Hokianga.

While at Kaipara the *Tory* got on a sand bank, and, while she was being repaired, Wakefield chartered the

*Guide* at the Bay of Islands and hastened back to meet the immigrant ships which were now due. He reached Port Hardie on 11th January, and, three days later, sent the *Guide* to pick up those of his party he had left at Kaipara. After arranging with a whaler named Maclaren, who lived at Oterawa during the "off" season, to keep a look out for the immigrant ships and pilot them, he proceeded in a whaleboat *viâ* the Sound, and Te Awaiti, to Port Nicholson, which he reached on 18th January.

Wakefield just arrived in time. He was only two days home when the *Aurora* cast anchor at the mouth of the harbour, where she was detained for two days. Since he had left the Bay several intending selectors had arrived on the look-out for land, and had hunted up some of the Maori Chiefs who had been absent on the occasion of Wakefield's purchase, with the object of purchasing their interest in the land on which the town was to be built. The Revd. Hy. Williams had also been and gone, and there was trouble facing Wakefield as the result of that, as the Revd. gentleman claimed to have purchased a portion of the site of the town from the Native teacher, Davis, who had been an obstacle to Wakefield's negotiations. On 31st January, the *Oriental*, the second immigrant ship, arrived, and on 7th February, the *Duke of Roxburgh* reached port. By this time 506 immigrants had been landed under the Company's flag.

Meantime the *Guide* had picked up the other members of Wakefield's party at Kaipara, and had sailed for Moturoa, where Barrett and Dr. Dieffenbach were found. The former had successfully negotiated the purchase of the land from the Natives, and the latter, accompanied by Hebblerley, had ascended Mount Egmont and explored the whole of the surrounding country. Owing to a succession of severe gales it was 15th February before E. J. Wakefield could get the signatures from the Natives and the purchase goods handed over to them. The land purchased extended from half-way between Mokau and the Sugar Loaf Islands to the Mangatawa River, south of Cape Egmont, and inland to a point on the Wanganui River. The remainder of the land towards

the Wanganui had all been negotiated for, but the inferior equipment of the *Guide*, under the weather conditions prevailing, rendered it impossible to visit the various spots along the lee shore, and the party made for Port Nicholson and came to an anchor on the twenty-first. That evening the Scotch immigrants arrived in the *Bengal Merchant*, bringing the number of arrivals up to 666.

On 2nd March, the first meeting of the "Committee" took place. To understand exactly what the Committee was we must remember that when the immigrants left the Mother Country their adopted land was not British territory, and no civilized code of law ran thereon. It was necessary, therefore, to create some form of organised government among themselves, and this was done by securing the signatures of all the immigrants, prior to their sailing, to an Agreement, which set up a Committee of fifteen, with certain powers of increase, Colonel Wakefield being President and G. S. Evans, Secretary, five forming a quorum. Generally speaking, this Committee was to enforce the laws of England in the Settlement. In its hands were powers of taxation, administration of justice, and the calling out of the military forces. It was a genuine attempt to get over the difficulty of the absence of civilized sovereignty in the new country, and was signed before the emigrants left the Thames. The first meeting of this singular Committee took place at Petone in Mr. Smith's house, on 2nd March, 1840, but only routine work was transacted, as many of the Committee had not yet arrived.

On 7th March, the *Adelaide* and *Glenbervie* arrived with 181 passengers.

The question was now settled as to where the town was to be placed. Although the first ship had anchored near Petone it had been Colonel Wakefield's intention to survey the site of the City on the shores of Lambton Harbour, but Mr. W. M. Smith, the Surveyor-General, who arrived in the *Cuba* when Wakefield was away purchasing land, preferred the flat lower valley of the Hutt, to the hilly ground of Thorndon, and, ignoring the instructions left by Wakefield, went on with the survey of the town at the Hutt. As



the settlers continued to arrive the objections to this site grew greater and greater. With southerly winds an inconvenient surf rolled on to the beach and interfered with the landing of goods dry, while at Thorndon there was a beach where no surf could break on. At Petone the swampy ground required drainage, and the river giving access to the land was not navigable, while at Thorndon the land was gathered along the coast line, and all parts were within easy reach of the water. Lastly, the anchorage at Petone was seen to be too exposed, while that in Lambton Bay was an ideal one. It was decided that when the *Adelaide* arrived a vote should be taken on the question of sites. This was done, Lambton was chosen, and the change was made. One of the inevitable results was that the survey arrangements on the new site were very backward, but that was a small matter when compared with securing permanently the best site.

The constitution of the Committee now received the ratification of the Chiefs, and its members proceeded to carry on the work of administration. "Measures were put in readiness for all sorts of public works; the appointment of officers, the regulation of finances, and the selection of sites for a powder magazine, infirmary, and other public institutions."

The last portion of the Company's land purchase, that of the Wanganui Block, was not proceeded with until the latter end of May. E. J. Wakefield sailed in McGregor's schooner, the *Surprise*, which had figured so prominently in Foveaux Strait earlier in the year, and entered the Wanganui River on the nineteenth. While there the Revds. Williams and Hadfield arrived on their mission of obtaining signatures to the Treaty of Waitangi. The negotiations here differed from the others, in that all purchase of land from the Natives was now forbidden by Proclamation, but Wakefield took up the work where it had been intercepted by the bad weather encountered on his former visit, and, in a few days, had effected the purchase of the land in the vicinity of Wanganui. It is alleged by Wakefield that Williams tried to dissuade the Natives from selling, but

why he did so is strange, in view of the fact that he must have known that all sales were now prohibited, and anything that Wakefield could now do could have no effect at law.

One of the clauses of the Agreement entered into between the settlers, before their departure from England was that they should submit themselves to be mustered and drilled, under the direction of the Company's principal Agent for their mutual protection. On 30th May a notice was issued by Colonel Wakefield requiring all inhabitants between 18 and 60 to form themselves into a militia under his direction. The notice required them to parade for an hour a week "with such arms as they may be in possession of." The Chiefs had been consulted, and their approval obtained, and it was anticipated that the Natives themselves would be induced to join the movement.

All was, however, brought to an end by the arrival of an Agent of the British Government in the harbour, on board the *Integrity*, on 2nd June, with full authority to proclaim British Sovereignty.

The following table gives the particulars of the arrival of the immigrant ships of the Company, at Port Nicholson, prior to the Proclamation of British Sovereignty. In all cases the numbers given of the passengers are those which sailed from England or Scotland:—

|       | Date.   | Name.                   | Tons. | Captain.       | Passengers |
|-------|---------|-------------------------|-------|----------------|------------|
| 1839  | Sep. 20 | <i>Tory</i>             | 382   | E. M. Chaffers | 6          |
| 1840  | Jan. 4  | <i>Cuba</i>             | 273   | Jno. Newcombe  | 30         |
|       | " 20    | <i>Aurora</i>           | 550   | Thos. Heale    | 148        |
|       | " 31    | <i>Oriental</i>         | 506   | William Wilson | 155        |
|       | Feb. 7  | <i>Duke of Roxburgh</i> | 417   | Jas. Thomson   | 167        |
|       | " 21    | <i>Bengal Merchant</i>  | 503   | Jno. Hemery    | 160        |
|       | Mar. 7  | <i>Adelaide</i>         | 640   | W. Campbell    | 176        |
|       | " 7     | <i>Glenbervie</i>       | 387   | Wm. Black      | 5          |
|       | Apr. 21 | <i>Bolton</i>           | 540   | J. R. Robinson | 232        |
| Total |         |                         |       |                | 1079       |

The *Duke of Roxburgh* sailed from Plymouth, the *Bengal Merchant* from Glasgow, and the others from London. The date (Jan. 20), assigned to the *Aurora*, is the date she anchored at the Heads, where she was detained for two days.

But these were not the only arrivals at Port Nicholson. No sooner was the site of the Settlement determined on, than restless and hardy pioneers from the neighbouring Colonies took advantage of the establishment of law and order to make for the new land, and vessels were laid on for Port Nicholson, at Sydney, Port Phillip, and Hobart Town. A list of these assumes fair proportions, as can be seen from a perusal of the following:—

| From.        | Arrival.    | Vessel.             | Tons. | Captain.    |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------|-------|-------------|
| Sydney       | 1839 Dec. 4 | <i>Success</i>      | 80    | Catlin      |
| "            | " 4         | <i>Aquilla</i>      | 40    | Watson      |
| "            | 1840 Jan. 4 | <i>Elizabeth</i>    | 196   | Garrett     |
| "            | " 22        | <i>Susannah</i>     |       |             |
| "            | " 22        | <i>Anne</i>         | 79    | J. Anderson |
| "            | " 22        | <i>Eleanor</i>      | 152   | Rhodes      |
| "            | Feb. 25     | <i>Lunar</i>        | 165   | Phillipson  |
| "            | Mar. 16     | <i>Lady Lilford</i> | 596   | Kermeh      |
| "            | " 20        | <i>Nimrod</i>       | 174   | Hay         |
| Port Phillip | " 21        | <i>Earl</i>         |       |             |
|              |             | <i>Stanhope</i>     | 350   | Tilley      |
| Sydney       | " 29        | <i>Hannah</i>       | 90    | Liddell     |
| Hobart Town  | " 29        | <i>Integrity</i>    | 220   | Pearson     |
| Sydney       | Apr. 5      | <i>Middlesex</i>    | 564   | Munroe      |
| "            | " 22        | <i>Sally Ann</i>    |       | Rumin       |
| "            | May 3       | <i>Justine</i>      | 265   | Lucas       |
| "            | " 29        | <i>Bee</i>          |       |             |
| "            | " 30        | <i>Martha</i>       | 121   | Lancaster   |

This list does not include arrivals of the small local craft which plied between the young Settlement and such ports as Cloudy Bay, Te Awaiti, Kapiti, the Bay of Islands, Chatham Island, and any part of the New Zealand coast. This list will supply the reader with information concerning the assistance given to the Company's Expedition by the neighbouring Colonies.

Of several of these vessels the nature of their addition to the Settlement can be given. Their passenger lists comprised the names of many who afterwards took a prominent part in the development of the young Province, but space does not permit of mention being made here of who they were, nor is it necessary that more than their numbers should be given. It may be mentioned, however, that practically all the first stock brought to the Settlement came in them:—

| Ship.                | Passengers.     | Sheep.           | Cattle.         | Horses         |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Success</i> ...   | 12              | ...              | ...             | ...            |
| <i>Lady Lilford</i>  | 25              | 600              | 59              | 2              |
| <i>Nimrod</i> ...    | 22              | ...              | ...             | ...            |
| <i>Earl Stanhope</i> | 42              | ...              | 70              | 3              |
| <i>Hannah</i> ...    | 1               | ...              | ...             | ...            |
| <i>Integrity</i> ... | 9               | ...              | 35              | 11             |
| <i>Middlesex</i> ... | 17              | 700              | 80              | ...            |
|                      | <hr/> 128 <hr/> | <hr/> 1300 <hr/> | <hr/> 244 <hr/> | <hr/> 16 <hr/> |

Our list of shipping might end with the names of what might be termed the local craft, excluding, of course, boats used inside the waters of the harbour. They were, the cutter *Harriett*, 45 tons; the *Black Hole*; the schooner *Jewess*, 67 tons; and the schooner *Surprise*, 30 tons.

In addition to the reputation which the *Integrity* enjoyed as the first Tasmanian vessel to the new Settlement, she also enjoys the reputation of having successfully defied the law which was being enforced by the Company. Mr. Wade had chartered the vessel, and to him were consigned the horses and cattle brought in her. A dispute arose between the charterer and the Captain, and the former called to his aid the legal machinery of the little Colony. Captain Pearson was arrested on 14th April, and brought before the Court, and, refusing to recognise its authority, was committed. The following day he escaped from custody and rejoined his ship. All efforts to get him out of the ship failed, and he set sail on 6th May for the Bay of Islands, vowing vengeance on the “democrats.”



When the Bay of Islands was reached, Governor Hobson was informed of what had taken place. The reader has only to recall that Hobson had been sent to New Zealand to keep the New Zealand Company "in their place," and to imagine how proceedings such as these would appeal to a naval officer who now found himself the representative of the Sovereign over the area in question, and it will not come as a surprise to him that this was "the last straw." A Proclamation was issued against "certain persons. . . formed. . . into an illegal association," and who "have assumed and attempted to usurp the powers vested in me." "Troops" were ordered out; and the *Integrity* was chartered and sent away with a strong force against those guilty of "high treason."

None of the incidents are, historically, in question, and we may, therefore, look at the humorous side of the question and appreciate the triumph of the Captain, who, when arrested, defies the Court, is put into prison, escapes to his ship, without undue haste or loss of dignity sails away, causes a "high treason" Proclamation to be issued, secures a lucrative charter for his vessel, brings back to Port Nicholson all the majesty of British Sovereignty, sees his passengers pull down the emblems of local power and establish in their place the Union Jack, and is present, when his judges, jailers and every one else are publicly reproved and stripped of every vestige of authority. It is difficult to conceive any direction in which Captain Pearson's triumph could have been extended.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE COMING OF THE CROWN, 1840.

In this Chapter the Treaty of Waitangi will be dealt with only so far as it immediately concerns the South Island of New Zealand, and no further back in its history than the arrival of Governor Hobson in Sydney. Should the author ever undertake the history of the North Island of New Zealand, the series of events which took place in England, and which produced the New Zealand Company and the New Zealand Governor, will there be dealt with, meantime both matters are taken up at the same point—their respective arrivals at the theatre of their future operations.

At the end of 1839, and while the American Scientific Expedition under Commander Wilkes was in that port refitting, Captain Hobson arrived in Sydney on board H.M.S. *Druid*, and sailed again for the Bay of Islands on 19th January. He had no sooner left than Governor Gibbs published three Proclamations giving effect to the changes decided on by the Imperial Government. The first extended the boundaries of New South Wales to include “any territory which is or may be acquired in sovereignty” within the Islands of New Zealand; the second appointed Captain Hobson Lieutenant-Governor of the New Zealand territory acquired, or to be acquired; the third required all titles to land to be derived from, or confirmed by, a Crown Grant, and stated that all titles already granted would be investigated by Commissioners, but all purchasers from Chiefs or tribes after the date thereof would be void. That date was 14th January, 1840.

Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands on 29th January, and on the following day, at the settlement of Kororarika, read the Commissions enlarging the boundaries of New

South Wales and appointing him Lieutenant-Governor. The new Governor then issued two Proclamations of his own: the first, intimating that he had entered upon the duties of his office, and the second, dealing, on the lines already mentioned, with the position of lands purchased from the Natives.

Hobson lost no time in getting matters under weigh to secure the sovereignty of the Islands of New Zealand, as, until that was obtained, he had jurisdiction only in name. The document prepared by him for the signature of the Chiefs was the celebrated Treaty of Waitangi, and, on 6th February, it was signed by 46 Chiefs at Waitangi.

While this was going on in New Zealand, Governor Gipps was taking advantage of every opportunity to secure support to the proclamation of British Sovereignty. It will be recalled that a deputation of five Maori Chiefs waited on the Governor, on 31st January, in reference to the titles of the land they had sold. After that deputation they had another interview with His Excellency, who explained to them that he desired their consent to the proclamation of British Sovereignty, taking care at the same time to make it clear that he would not confirm the sales of land they had already made. The Chiefs signified their assent and promised to sign a Deed to that effect. As a result Governor Gipps gave ten sovereigns each to the two leading Chiefs, but made the mistake of not having his deed prepared there and then, and signed contemporaneously with the handing over of the gold. Some few days afterwards the Chiefs returned to His Excellency with the information that they would not sign the Deed under the conditions laid down. It is not on record whether the twenty sovereigns were returned or not.

At this same time the well known W. C. Wentworth of Sydney joined with him as partners C. Brown, R. Campbell (tertius), Jones, and Unwin, and they associated themselves with some six others to purchase from these Chiefs then in Sydney, and some others in New Zealand, to whom they afterwards sent the Deed for execution, the whole of

the South Island, and some 200,000 acres in the North Island, subject to some prior sales which the Chiefs had made. Wentworth claimed 20,000,000 acres of land, subject to claims of others which might reduce the total to 10,000,000 acres. For this he paid the Chiefs: £200, and was to give each of them an annuity of £100. In view of this speculation the sum of £20 given by His Excellency failed to impress Tuhawaiki and his colleagues, the Deed was not executed. "the Gubbarnar" was "no good," and Wentworth, probably the ablest man in Sydney at that time, was, for the time being, victorious.

While engaged in procuring further signatures to the Treaty, Hobson took ill and was compelled to delegate his task to others, amongst whom was the Revd. Hy. Williams. To him he assigned the district bordering on Cook Strait, and as far north as the Wanganui River. Mr. Williams had already visited this country to establish the Revd. O. Hadfield at Otaki, and the wide influence which he was believed to have acquired through the influence of that Missionary and his teachers, with the Maori chiefs on both sides of Cook Strait, pointed him out as an ideal man to secure signatures, in a district where the leaders of the New Zealand Company were believed to look with no favourable eye upon Governor Hobson's actions.

Mr. Williams proceeded South and reached Port Nicholson about the third week in April. As was expected, considerable opposition was encountered from the officials of the Company, and it was not until he had been there about ten days that he managed to induce any of the Chiefs to affix their signatures to the Treaty. On 29th April thirty-four of those belonging to Port Nicholson signed in the presence of Mr. Williams and Mr. G. T. Clayton. From Port Nicholson the party proceeded to Queen Charlotte Sound, then to Kapiti, Waikanae, and Otaki, and on to Wanganui. From the last-named place the Reverend gentleman returned to Kapiti, intending to proceed to the South Island, but, hearing that H.M.S. *Herald* had been sent down to do the work required there, he returned



to the Bay of Islands and, on 11th June, reported to Hobson the result of his labours.

That the mission was a most successful one can be seen by a perusal of the copy of the Treaty which he returned. Summarised, the following was the result of the mission for signatures:—

| Date.      | District.               | Signatures. |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 29th April | Port Nicholson          | .. 34       |
| 4th May    | Queen Charlotte Sd.     | .. 14       |
| 5th ..     | do.                     | .. 13       |
| 11th ..    | Rangitoto ..            | .. 13       |
| 14th ..    | Kapiti, Otaki, Manawatu | 4           |
| 16th ..    | Waikanae ..             | .. 18       |
| 19th ..    | Kapiti, Otaki, Manawatu | 9           |
| 21st ..    | do.                     | 3           |
| 23rd ..    | Wanganui ..             | .. 10       |
| 26th ..    | Kapiti, Otaki, Manawatu | 7           |
| 31st ..    | Wanganui ..             | .. 4        |
| 4th June   | Motu Ngarara ..         | .. 2        |

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Once he got a start Mr. Williams seems to have swept the whole country. To secure, in so short a time, the consent of so many, scattered over such an extent of country, was a marvellous tribute to the mana of the great Anglican Missionary. And amongst those whose signatures were secured was the redoubtable Te Rauparaha himself. Of that 131, 105 had been secured before 21st May.

When Captain Hobson took ill the *Herald* was despatched to Sydney for supplies. The news of the illness of the Governor caused considerable alarm in the mind of Governor Gipps, and that gentleman made provision for any emergency which might happen, by instructing Major Bunbury, who was on the eve of proceeding to New Zealand in command of a detachment of the 80th Regiment, to take over the Governor's duties should Captain Hobson be unable to perform them. On arrival at the Bay of Islands, however, Hobson was found

to be very much improved, but very averse to proceeding to the South Island to secure the adherence of the Southern Chiefs. It was understood to be more on account of his personal relations with Captain Nias of the *Herald* than anything else, and Major Bunbury was induced to take in hand the mission. In this mission the Major was to proceed to the South Island, secure signatures to the Treaty, and carry out the Instructions which had been given to Hobson.

On 27th April, Major Bunbury went on board H.M.S. *Herald*, "charged with a Diplomatic Mission," says the Captain's log of the man-of-war, and with him was Edward Marsh Williams, a son of the Revd. Henry, to act as interpreter. Two days afterwards the *Herald* sailed and exchanged compliments with D'Urville's Expedition returning from the Antarctic. The same day Coromandel was reached. For a pilot for the southern ports it was decided to take William Stewart, our old friend who, when mate of the *Pegasus* in 1809, surveyed Stewart Island, and after whom it received its name. He was now engaged in the timber trade with Gordon Browne at Mercury Bay. From Coromandel a native was sent to Stewart with a message that his services were required, and the *Herald* sailed round to the Bay and took him on board, on 14th May.

On 16th May, Hobson was advised of the success that had attended the *Herald* as far as Coromandel, and, later on, he received Williams' report of the 34 Chiefs having signed the Treaty on 29th April. All that was very satisfactory, but on 21st May there came to the Governor most alarming intelligence. He "learned," not only from the New Zealand Gazette, but from "authentic sources," that the settlers who had located themselves at Port Nicholson, under the New Zealand Association, had formed themselves into a Government, had elected a Council, appointed Colonel Wakefield president, and had proceeded to enact laws and appoint magistrates—"high treason" was the description which he gave of the proceedings to the Secretary of State.

This dark news was received by the Governor at 8 o'clock on the evening of 21st May. No time was lost. Within an hour the O.C. of "the troops" was called on to detach 30 men of his command for duty at Port Nicholson, and Acting Colonial Secretary Shortland, J.P., with Lieutenant Smart, J.P., of the 28th Regiment, commanding the mounted police, and five of his men who were constables, were appointed to proceed to Port Nicholson and quell the Rebellion. That same night, before the Government officials were allowed to retire to rest, two Proclamations were drawn up and signed by Hobson, without awaiting the reports of those who had been sent out to complete the Crown's title, and the following day the barque *Integrity* was chartered to take the Expedition down to Port Nicholson.

The first Proclamation related to the North Island only, and read as follows:—

#### PROCLAMATION.

In the name of Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: By William Hobson, Esquire, a Captain in the Royal Navy, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand.

Whereas by a Treaty bearing date the 6th day of February, in the Year of Our Lord 1840, made and executed by me, William Hobson, a Captain in the Royal Navy, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor in New Zealand, vested for this purpose with full powers by Her Britannic Majesty, of the one part, and the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and of the separate and independent chiefs of New Zealand, not members of the Confederation, of the other, and further ratified and confirmed by the adherence of the principal Chiefs of this Island of New Zealand, commonly called "The Northern Island," all rights and powers of sovereignty over the said Northern Island were ceded to Her Majesty the Queen of

Great Britain and Ireland, absolutely and without reservation.

Now therefore I, William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, in the name and on the behalf of Her Majesty, do hereby proclaim and declare to all men that, from and after the date of the above-mentioned Treaty, the full sovereignty of the Northern Island of New Zealand vests in Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, for ever.

Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, this 21st Day of May, in the year of our Lord 1840.

WILLIAM HOBSON,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

By His Excellency's command

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,  
Colonial Secretary.

We have already seen that prior to 21st May Williams had secured the consent of 105 of the Cook Strait Chiefs, and, that after that date, 26 more gave in their names. The position was even more favourable for the remaining portion of the North Island. With the departure of Williams, therefore, from Cook Strait, the title of Great Britain to the North Island, but more particularly to that portion of it with which we are dealing, may be regarded as completed.

、 The second Proclamation referred to both Islands, and read as follows:—

PROCLAMATION.

In the name of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: By William Hobson, Esquire, a Captain of the Royal Navy, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand.

Whereas I have it in command from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, through her Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to assert the sovereign rights:



of Her Majesty over the Southern Islands of New Zealand, commonly called "The Middle Island" and "Stewart's Island," and also the island commonly called "The Northern Island," the same having been ceded in sovereignty to Her Majesty:

Now, therefore, I, William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, do hereby proclaim and declare to all men that, from and after the date of these presents, the full sovereignty of the Islands of New Zealand, extending from 34 degrees 30 minutes North to 47 degrees 10 minutes South latitude, and between 166 degrees 5 minutes to 179 degrees of East longitude, vests in Her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, for ever.

Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, this 21st day of May, in the Year of our Lord 1840.

WILLIAM HOBSON,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

By His Excellency's command

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,  
Colonial Secretary.

Hobson stated that he issued the second Proclamation, which affected the Southern islands, actuated by "a perfect knowledge of the uncivilized state of the Natives, and supported by the advice of Sir George Gipps previously given." What he was referring to can be gleaned from a perusal of his instructions.

When Lord Normanby forwarded to Hobson instructions to obtain by treaty the sovereignty of New Zealand from the Maori Chiefs, to whom they had acknowledged the country to be a separate and independent State, Hobson raised a most important question. The recognition of independence had only been to some of the Chiefs of the North Island, and had no application whatever to the Southern Islands. Hobson also held that civilization was not so well established in the South as in the North, and that it appeared

scarcely possible to observe even the form of a treaty with the Natives there. He suggested that under these circumstances the flag might be planted in the South Island under the right of first discoverers.

Lord Normanby's reply was to the following effect:—

“If the country is really, as you suppose, uninhabited except by a very small number of persons in a savage state, incapable from their ignorance of entering intelligently into any treaties with the Crown, I agree with you that the ceremonial of making such engagements with them would be a mere illusion and pretence, which ought to be avoided. The circumstances noted in my instructions may perhaps render the occupation of the Southern Island a matter of necessity or of duty to the Natives. The only chance of an effective protection will probably be found in the establishment by treaty, if that be possible, or if not, then in the assertion, on the ground of discovery, of Her Majesty's sovereign rights over the island.”

When, therefore, Hobson grew alarmed at the condition of things at Port Nicholson he determined to fall back upon the portion of his instructions, the “assertion on the ground of discovery, of Her Majesty's sovereign rights over the island.” Hence the form of the second Proclamation.

This Proclamation, it will be noted, follows Normanby's instructions and *asserts* the sovereign rights of the Queen over the Southern Islands, but it makes no mention of “the grounds of discovery” as the basis for so asserting. It is also to be noted that the *assertion* is extended equally to the North Island, although that island had been specially dealt with in the first, or “ceded,” Proclamation. The first Proclamation “proclaims and declares” sovereignty over the North Island “from and after” the date of the Treaty—6th February—while the second Proclamation “proclaims and declares” sovereignty over the same ground “from and after” the date of these presents—21st May. If the first Proclamation was good the second was unneces-

sary, so far as any mention of the North Island was concerned. It of course added to the complication when two different dates were given for British sovereignty taking effect. To complete the list of strange things visible on a perusal of the Proclamation we must note the specification of the northern boundary of New Zealand "from 34 degrees 30 minutes North." That places it to the North of the Equator and makes it comprise the vast area between the latitude of  $34^{\circ} 30' N.$  and  $47^{\circ} 10' S.$ , and longitude  $166^{\circ} 5'$  and  $179^{\circ} E.$

No suggestion is made that anything, to which attention has now been called, affects the validity of Britain's title to New Zealand. To occur in a document of such importance as these Proclamations makes the origin of little peculiarities a matter of the greatest interest, and to any inquiry in that direction the author can only make the suggestion that they would all have been avoided if, instead of preparing and issuing the Proclamation between 8 o'clock and the hour when he retired to rest on the evening of the 21st May, His Excellency had slept over the draft for a night, and had attached his signature when his brain had been freshened by a few hours' rest.

Two days after issuing his Proclamation declaring British Sovereignty over New Zealand, Hobson issued one dealing with the position at Port Nicholson. It read as follows:—

#### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas certain persons residing at Port Nicholson, New Zealand, part of the dominions of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, have formed themselves into an illegal association, under the title of a Council, and, in contempt of Her Majesty's authority, have assumed and attempted to usurp the powers vested in me by Her Majesty's letters patent, for the Government of the said Colony, to the manifest injury and detriment of all Her Majesty's liege subjects in New Zealand.

Now, therefore, I, William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, command all persons connected with such illegal association immediately to withdraw therefrom, and I call upon all persons resident at Port Nicholson, or elsewhere, within the limits of this Government, upon the allegiance they owe to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to submit to the proper authorities in New Zealand, legally appointed, and to aid and assist them in the discharge of their respective duties.

Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, this 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1840.

WILLIAM HOBSON,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

By command of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,  
Colonial Secretary.

On 25th May the Expedition set sail in the *Integrity* and reached Port Nicholson on 2nd June, but it was not until the afternoon of 4th June that Mr. Willoughby Shortland "J.P.," Lieutenant Smart, "J.P.," the "troops," and the mounted policemen all landed, read Hobson's Proclamation and hoisted the British flag. Three hearty cheers and a royal salute by the Europeans (including the "high treason" settlers), and a haka and general discharge of musketry by the Maoris, ended the rebellion and established British authority, on the day before it was proclaimed by Major Bunbury at Stewart Island. Thus was Port Nicholson prepared for becoming one day the seat of Government, where successors of Hobson have the oath of allegiance administered to them by citizens of the once "high treason" city.

When H.M.S. *Herald* sailed from Mercury Bay on 16th May, Captain Nias directed her course for Akaroa, but, owing to the bad weather experienced, she did not reach her destination until the twenty-seventh. Here four days



were spent, during which time Major Bunbury communicated with the Native Chiefs ashore and obtained the signatures of two of them—Iwikau and John Love. The former was a brother of the great Tamaiharanui, and the latter was described by Bunbury as “a very intelligent well-dressed Native who spoke English better than any I have met with.” Very few Natives were found at Akaroa. The European settlers were got into communication with. The Major saw the cattle, some 30 in number, which Captain Leathart had left there, and one of the two stockmen in charge showed him a copy of an Agreement dated, Sydney, 18th February, 1839, wherein Taiaroa transferred the land around the harbour to Captain Rhodes, by whom it was afterwards transferred to Captain Leathart.

In connection with this transfer from Taiaroa to Captain Rhodes dated at Sydney and witnessed by a Sydney Solicitor, Charles Wild, it will be remembered that when the *Dublin Packet* reached Sydney, on 1st February, 1839, she had on board Taiaroa and his attendant, “Tom Bowling.”

From Akaroa Captain Nias set sail for Stewart Island, and cast anchor at Port Pegasus on 4th June. The following day Major Bunbury went with Stewart to the site of the latter’s old shipbuilding yards, a distance of some four or five miles from where the *Herald* was at anchor, but no inhabitants were to be found; the settlement had long been abandoned. As the locality was evidently deserted it was decided to take advantage of Hobson’s Instructions and proclaim British Sovereignty at once. Accordingly that afternoon a party of marines were landed and the usual formalities complied with. The entry of the event in the “log” of H.M.S. *Herald* is as follows:—

June 5, P.M. The island called Stewart’s Island, New Zealand situated between the meridian 157 & 158 East of Greenwich & 45.48 South parallel with all the Bays Rivers Harbours Creeks &c in and all the Islands lying off were taken possession of in the Right by the discovery of the late lamented Captain

Cook in the name and for Her Most Excellent Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland &c &c and her Majesty's Colours were accordingly hoisted at Sylvan Bay Southern Port in the 5th day of June, 1840, by Captain Joseph Nias Commanding H.M.S. *Herald* with a detachment of Royal Marines & by Major Thos Bunbury K.T.S. 80th Regt. who were commissioned for that Purpose. This notification having been made the Marines who were drawn up on the spot presented Arms & saluted the Colours, after which they Fired a Feu de joie, presented arms & gave 3 cheers accompanied by the Officers of the Ship & a part of the Ship's Company. 3.45 Party returned up Boats."

It will be noted that the discovery made by Cook 70 years before was invoked when the ground was found to be unoccupied. It is doubtful to what extent Bunbury was justified in treating it as unoccupied territory when the local Chief (Tuhawaiki) lived at Ruapuke, within sight of the Island. Again it is difficult to reconcile the appeal to Captain Cook's discovery with the action of Downing Street in 1825, when it was intimated to the World that New Zealand was not a possession of the Crown, and, strange to say, it was in connection with a transaction of this same Captain Stewart, the pilot of the *Herald*.

Governor Hobson had, on 21st May, made proclamation asserting British sovereignty, and here, on 5th June, was the flag hoisted and saluted, and the usual notification made. Stewart Island was now British territory, *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

Of course the spot where the flag was hoisted is a matter of great historical interest. The captain's log says that the *Herald* was moored across Sylvan Bay with Hebe Island N.E./N. and Dryads Island N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. Bunbury says that near the anchorage was an island which became a peninsula at low water, and where was buried, in a bottle, the notification of the day's proceedings signed by a number of the

ship's officers. A careful analysis of this information, made on the spot, should enable the locality to be determined with a fair amount of accuracy.

On 9th June, the *Herald* sailed from Pegasus for Ruapuke, to secure the signature of Tuhawaiki. This Chief had returned from Sydney in the same vessel with Mr. Hesbeth, who, it will be remembered, accompanied him when he landed there. As the *Herald* neared the land Mr. Hesbeth came off in a boat and provided a pilot, who happened to be one of Captain Stewart's old men, now in the employ of Tuhawaiki. That evening the Maori Chief came on board. When he arrived he was decked out in the full dress staff uniform of a British A.D.C. with gold lace trousers, and cocked hat and plume. He appears, too, to have acted up to the standard which he set himself, and his behaviour at the Captain's table won the admiration of Bunbury. He was attended by a Native orderly sergeant in uniform.

When asked to sign the Treaty, although he had resisted the blandishments of Governor Gipps in Sydney, he consented without hesitation. He was aware of the nature of the document, but, notwithstanding that, Major Bunbury had everything carefully interpreted to him. Mr. E. M. Williams, the interpreter, told the author, that, on account of the difference in the dialect between the northern and southern Natives, he had some difficulty in making himself understood, but a Native, familiar with the Ngapuhi dialect, who happened to be there, acted as an intermediary, and the Treaty was explained.

The following day Major Bunbury, Lieutenant Hewett of the Royal Marines, Captain Stewart, and Mr. Williams returned the visit. They were met by Tuhawaiki in his uniform and the orderly sergeant was at the head of six soldiers, dressed in British uniforms, but without hats or boots. Tuhawaiki asked to be allowed to send his soldiers on board to see the marines go through the manual and platoon exercises. The request was granted and the sword exercise was added to the list, to the intense delight of the

Maoris, and their Chief, who repeatedly called out to his men to watch and see how this branch of military work was done.

The Chiefs who signed at Ruapuke were John Tuha-waiki, Kaikoura, and Taiaroa.

Although the old Chief had decided to surrender to the importunities of the pakeha and sign the Treaty, he tried to get some recognition of the arrangements he had made for the disposal of his island home. He presented, for Bunbury's signature, a letter stating that Ruapuke was the property of himself and of his tribe, to different individuals of which he had allotted portions. Bunbury endorsed upon it the following:—"I have seen this paper, but am not prepared to give an opinion or any information on the purport of it. The Treaty guarantees the full and exclusive possession of their lands and other properties to the Natives."

The *Herald* weighed anchor and made sail from Ruapuke Roads at noon on 11th June.

On the thirteenth Otago was visited and a gun fired at eleven o'clock as a signal to the shore residents. The anchor was not dropped, but the Major went ashore in the gig and, during an absence of only 4½ hours, secured the signatures of John Karitai and Korako, and the *Herald* sailed that day for Cloudy Bay. In the harbour at the time were two American and two French whaling vessels.

Bunbury in his Report regrets that he was unable to meet Taiaroa at Akaroa, and that when they called at Otago, Taiaroa had gone to Moeraki. The name of that Chief, however, appears as one of the two who signed at Ruapuke. What the explanation is the author is unable to say.

Cloudy Bay was reached on the afternoon of 16th June, and at four o'clock Major Bunbury went ashore to get signatures. The first visit was to Guard's Cove, but was not successful, the operation being opposed by the head Chief Nohorua, brother of Te Rauparaha, and some of his relations, who alleged that their lands would be taken from them if they signed. They promised to come on board,



however, the following morning. When they did they were joined by other Chiefs from the neighbouring coves, and one very intelligent man, Maui Pu, who spoke a little English, explained the Treaty to the others. He told the Europeans that the difficulty in the way of getting signatures was the fear that the Queen might afterwards come and take their lands. Mr. Williams and Captain Stewart, both of whom knew the Maori language, were astonished at the clear manner in which Maui Pu explained the different portions of the Treaty. He was also so eager that he went ashore to explain it to the Chiefs there. Finally Nohorua gave way, and agreed to affix his signature, if his English son-in-law, Joseph Thoms, witnessed it, his expressed reason being that if his grandchildren should lose their land by this action their father would share the blame. And thus Joseph Thoms comes to be a witness to the Treaty. In all, nine Cloudy Bay Chiefs signed:—Maui Pu, Eka Hau, Puke, Nohorua, Waiti, Te Wi, Te Kauai, Pukeko, and Kaikoura.

When all these had signed, Major Bunbury came to the conclusion that the cession of the Middle Island was complete and that sovereignty should be proclaimed. The officers and marines were accordingly landed at the Pa of Horahora-Kakahu, called by Captain Nias, Showhaka, the ship was dressed up, the Union Jack was hoisted, and Major Bunbury read a notification (called by him a Proclamation), after which a royal salute of 21 guns was fired by H.M.S. *Herald*, a *feu-de-joie* was given by the marines, and three hearty cheers by the onlookers.

The ceremony was witnessed by five American, one French, and one Bremen, whaling vessels.

The entry in the *Herald's* "log" of this interesting event is as follows:—

June 17. P.M. at 2. The island called Tavai Poenammoo or Middle Island of New Zealand situated between the Meridians 166 & 174.30 East of Greenwich & 40.30 & 46.30 South parallel with all the Bays Rivers Harbours Creeks &c in and all

the Islands lying off having been ceded in Sovereignty by the several Native Independent Chiefs to Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland the said Island was accordingly taken possession of and formerly proclaimed and Her Majesty's Colours Hoisted at the Paa of Showhaka Cloudy Bay under a salute of 21 Guns on the 17 day of June 1840 by Capt. Jas. Nias commg H.M.S. *Herald* and by Major Thos Bunbury K.T.S. 80th Regt. who were commissioned for that purpose which was returned by the Royal Marines firing a Feu de Joie."

The author reproduces, *in extenso*, the entries of these incidents in the Captain's log, to show what importance was attributed to the function, and the procedure adopted in the Royal Navy for recording the important act of "proclaiming" British sovereignty.

While at Port Pegasus and dealing with Stewart Island, Captain Cook's discovery was put forward as the basis of the sovereignty proclaimed, at Cloudy Bay it was based on cession by the Native Chiefs. Though Te Rauparaha was not found, his signature had actually been obtained by the Revd. Hy. Williams. We, therefore, have this position:—The Sovereignty of the Middle Island is first *asserted* by Proclamation dated 21st May, and then, on subsequent dates, is *ceded* by treaty; finally, a man-of-war, with an officer on board, specially commissioned for that purpose, officially notifies the assumption of sovereignty, and hoists the British flag which is then saluted in the usual formal fashion. However much the position can be challenged prior to the arrival of H.M.S. *Herald* in Cloudy Bay, this at any rate is certain, that when the sound of the artillery died away on that 17th June, 1840, the Middle Island of New Zealand had been added to the British Empire, had become a portion of the Colony of New South Wales, and had been placed under the governorship of Captain William Hobson.

When the author called the attention of Mr. W. H. Skinner, Commissioner of Crown Lands for Marlborough, to the importance in New Zealand history of the site of the old Cloudy Bay pa, that zealous officer took steps at once to have it protected by a permanent reservation, and the author understands that the protection is now an accomplished fact.

It is departing from the strict impartiality of the historian to call the attention of the reader to the fact that Major Bunbury's mission was completed and the South Island was British territory, while yet the French Expedition, bound for Akaroa, was more than a month's sail distant from the New Zealand coast; and no desperate naval race between the rival war-ships of Great Britain and France, six weeks after this, could have any bearing whatever upon the validity of Britain's title to the southern portion of Ao-tea-roa.

Thus did the Crown come.

Mr. Edward Marsh Williams, the interpreter on the *Herald*, lived to the great age of 91 years, and passed away at Te Aute in 1909, after seeing 69 Anniversaries of the Treaty of Waitangi. As one of the principal actors in that great event he has easily earned special mention here. Mr. Williams was the last of the *Herald's* party.

Major Bunbury's life has been given to the world under the title of "Reminiscences of a Veteran," published in London in 1861, and now exceedingly rare.

On some future occasion, if a number of contingencies permit of its being done, the author may again take up the pen and ask his readers to accompany him over another period of early New Zealand history. For the present—

*Hora diem terminat, autor opus.*

# APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX "A."

### THE BRIG *ELIZABETH* RECORDS.

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MAGISTERIAL REPORT TO GOVERNOR DARLING.

Police Office Sydney  
7th February, 1831.

Sir

We have the honour to report to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor that having been apprized that a transaction of a criminal character had taken place at New Zealand in which the Captain of the *Elizabeth* Brig, John Stewart, and some other persons in that vessel took a prominent part. We have taken the examinations of several witnesses (and more evidence in confirmation can be procured) which we have the honor to transmit herewith.

From a perusal of these Documents it will appear that a Native Chief of New Zealand has been received on board the *Elizabeth* Brig, and in a treacherous manner given up to certain other natives, his enemies, by whom he was put to death. That such conduct as is detailed in the evidence taken, would generally entail a capital punishment on the parties implicated, there can be no doubt; but as there is some doubt existing as to the extent of the Criminal Jurisdiction given by the Act of 9 George 4th, Cap: 83 as applicable to this case.

We have the honor to request that the opinion of the Crown Officers may be taken upon the question of how far



the Magistrates are justified in proceeding with a view of putting the apparent criminals on their trials for murder. As the vessel is on the eve of departure we beg to suggest that an immediate answer may be given.

We have &c.

T. ROSSI J.P.

F. HELY J.P.

The Honble  
Colonial Secretary.

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BROWNE'S DEPOSITIONS.

GORDON DAVIES BROWNE, of Sydney, being duly sworn, on his oath saith.

I have been informed and believe that the Brig *Elizabeth*, Stewart, Master, was chartered by Mr. Thomas Street to proceed to New Zealand for flax with Mr. Cowell as interpreter.

They were for some time unsuccessful, but on arriving at Entry Island (Kafute) in Cook's Straits, they entered into the following agreement with one of the principal chiefs, called the Rauparaha, of that place, for a cargo. That they should convey the Rauparaha and a party of his warriors to Banks Peninsula on the east side of the Middle Island, for the purpose of capturing the chief called the Maitraranui, of that District, bring them back to Entry Island, when they would receive a quantity of flax in payment.

The Rauparaha and his men embarked accordingly. On arriving at Bank's Peninsula they lay concealed in the hold of the vessel until the Matraranui (the chief they were in search of) and a number of his tribe had come on board unarmed, as is usual with them when visiting European vessels for the purpose of trade. They then rushed out upon these unsuspecting and defenceless visitors, and seized upon the Matraranui and several others, the rest escaping to the shore.

The *Elizabeth* carried them back to Entry Island, where the prisoners were taken on shore and shot. She then received her payment and has returned with it to this port.

SWORN this 5th February, 1831

before

GORDON D. BROWNE.

F. ROSSI J.P.

P. Superintend of Police.

Deponent further, on his oath, saith:

I have been informed and believe that J. B. Montefiore Esq. and Arthur Kemmis Esq. were passengers on board the said Brig *Elizabeth* on her return from Entry Island.

SWORN the 6th February, 1831

before

GORDON D. BROWNE.

F. ROSSI J.P.

P. Superintend of Police.

FREDK. A. HELY J.P.

#### MONTEFIORE'S DEPOSITIONS.

JOSEPH BARLOW MONTEFIORE, Esq., being sworn,  
on his oath

Sydney,  
N.S. Wales,  
To Wit.

I am a merchant, residing in Sydney. I came from New Zealand, and arrived here on the 14th January last, on board the *Elizabeth*, of which John Stewart is Master. I went on board the *Elizabeth* at Entry Island, in New Zealand on the 23rd or 25th December last; that was about three or four days after my arrival at Entry Island, where the *Elizabeth* then was. Capt. Stewart was on board and also the First Mate, Mr. Clementson. I had heard that there was a New Zealand Chief on board from Bank's Peninsula, named Mara Nui. I saw him on board the *Elizabeth*, on deck. I saw him afterwards several times. I think he was in chains. He was kept down in the fore-

cabin. About 10 or 14 days before the *Elizabeth* sailed he was liberated. I was down below when he was liberated, and, on my going on deck, Mara Nui was in a canoe which was then about half way off between the ship and the Island. The canoe returned from Entry Island with the same chief in her, when I got on board the same canoe and accompanied the Chief to the mainland, to Otauka, about ten miles distant from the ship. The boat was rowed by natives. Mr. Cowell (the Supercargo) and myself were the only Europeans in the boat. At Otauka I saw the Chief, Mara Nui, land. I can't say if he was then in chains, but I think not. I went with him to the place of a native chief called the Rassaraha. Rassaraha was in the canoe with us. There was a native boy, who, I understood, came from Banks Peninsula, also on board the *Elizabeth*. He was not a prisoner. He came to Sydney with us. On the following morning I went to Hacho's Settlement, and, in 5 or 6 hours after, I saw Mara Nui come there, I think in a canoe. They displayed him there. He looked very grave, and the women were laughing at him. I went away in about 2 or 3 hours and never saw him again. I heard afterwards that he had been eaten. I think I heard it from the natives. I heard that he was killed by sticking a knife in his throat. I think I heard this from Mr. Harvey, an European who is now on the mainland. I heard also that the wife of Mara Nui had been on board the *Elizabeth*, and I heard also that she had been eaten. Capt'n Stewart told me, when he came down to me, that he had got rid of him, or that he was gone—alluding to Mara Nui. I heard him say that Mara Nui was the man who had killed Sai, the father of Hacho. He told me that the Rassaraha, and other chiefs, had gone down with him from Entry Island to Bank's Peninsula. I never talked much with Capt'n Stewart about it. I understood from some of the Native Chiefs of Entry Island that they had gone down in the *Elizabeth*, and had a fight and taken Mara Nui prisoner. I did not understand that Capt'n Stewart had given them any assistance. Mr. Clementson, as I understood, was on

board the *Elizabeth* at Bank's Peninsula. He said the chiefs were armed with muskets, and were down below. I heard that Mara Nui was brought on board in the *Elizabeth's* boat, but I don't recollect having heard that any fight took place on board the *Elizabeth*. There was a war between the natives at Bank's Peninsula and Entry Island, and had been for some time. I heard that an Agreement had been made with the principal Chiefs of Entry Island to take them down to Bank's Peninsula. I heard that between one and two hundred men of the Natives went with the *Elizabeth* to Banks Peninsula. I heard the *Elizabeth* was to have a cargo of flax for that service. I was shown by Mr. Harvey the spot where he stated part of the body of Mara Nui had been burnt. This was at a place called Wyeauhi. I heard that the *Elizabeth* was 8 or 10 days at Bank's Peninsula before the people of Bank's knew that the Entry Island people were on board the *Elizabeth*. I think Mr. Clementson told me that they threw overboard a basket of arms and legs, which the Entry Island people brought on board the *Elizabeth*. I heard that the infant child of Mara Nui and his wife was strangled on board the *Elizabeth* by one of its parents.

SWORN in the Magistrates Private }  
 Room at Police Office, Sydney, } J. BARROW MONTEFIORE  
 5th February, 1831, before }

F Rossi J.P.

P. Superintend of Police.

F. A. HELY J.P.

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#### PERY'S DEPOSITIONS.

Mr. Gordon Davies Browne being sworn to interpret truly between the Court and PERY; saith—PERY.

I am a native of Hakaroa at Bank's, and came to Sydney in a ship, the captain of which saw me ashore, and promised to take me to Europe. A vessel had arrived at



Bank's, and the Rassar had a chief of Kasiti (Entry Island), who was their enemy, concealed on board, and the natives of Bank's did not know it. I was at Bank's when the vessel arrived there, and was informed by the white people on board that they had plenty of muskets to purchase flax, and Mara Nui (our principal chief) was invited to come on board. He did go on board and the chief mate of the vessel put irons on his wrists and on his legs. He did not suspect any danger. Mara Nui's wife was also taken on board, with a female child of theirs. I saw them on board. I do not know how the child died, but I saw the dead body thrown into the sea by the Chief Mate and other persons. After Mara Nui was put in irons, the natives of Entry went on shore at Bank's in the ship's boats and destroyed the village where Mara Nui was chief. They burnt all the place, and a great number of people were taken prisoners on board the ship. In the fight that took place I saw the white people of the ship take prisoners many of the Bank's people and hand them over to the natives of Entry. I am the son of Mara Nui's younger brother. I am a slave here, for I have been brought here by force. I did not see the fight that took place on shore, but I was told of it. The people of Entry brought on board a great quantity of human flesh in baskets but it was drest on shore, not in the ship. On the ship heaving up the anchor 10 guns were fired. The ship remained about 10 nights at Bank's. We were 5 nights in the passage to Kasiti. On arriving there the prisoners were delivered over to the Rassarhan, and taken ashore in canoes. I was the only one of our tribe who remained on board the ship. I heard that the price of the service was to be paid in flax, and the people of the ship were very angry at not getting the payment. The people of the ship expected the flax would have been a free gift, but they had to pay muskets and powder for it. I heard that the Mara Nui and his wife were taken ashore and killed. The Mara Nui had a cord around his neck and was killed with a knife and cooked. One of the sailors brought two of his fingers

aboard the ship. I ran away from the ship. I came in here for fear, and went aboard another ship.

|                                   |   |             |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------|
| TAKEN before me this 5th February | } | The mark of |
| 1831                              |   | X           |
|                                   |   | PERY.       |

F ROSSI J.P.

P. Superintendent of Police.

#### KEMMIS' DEPOSITIONS.

ARTHUR KEMMIS Esquire, being sworn, on his oath saith.

I am a Merchant and at present reside in Sydney, I went hence to New Zealand and arrived at Entry Island in November last. I found there the *Elizabeth*, Stewart, Master, and went on board her. I saw Captain Stewart and some Natives. I saw a Native Chief sitting on the deck, who, I afterwards understood, was Mara Nui a chief of Bank's Peninsula. I saw him during the 2 days I was on board the *Elizabeth*, three or four times. I understood he was a prisoner from Bank's Peninsula taken by the chiefs of Entry Island. I understood from the Natives, whom I saw as soon as we had cast anchor. I understood from them, before I went on board the *Elizabeth*, that a number of them had gone down to Bank's Peninsula, in the *Elizabeth*, and had made a great fight and had taken Mara Nui, who was on board the *Elizabeth*, prisoner, and who was to be eaten as soon as the *Elizabeth* quitted Entry Island. I understood the language very imperfectly but that was the substance of what I gathered from them. I understood that they had made war on the Bank's people in revenge of the death of Pai, and some white people of the *Samuel* (a vessel of Mr. Street's), whom Mara Nui had put to death. I heard, I think from the Chief Mate, Clementson, that Mara Nui had been killed and eaten. I understood that Mara Nui had his wife on board, and that she had been at first made a slave, and afterwards

had been killed on the main at a place called Ataka. I remember Clementson saying that he had seen a scene at Bank's which he never wished to see again. I understood from the general report of white people and Natives that about 190 of the Natives of Entry Island were taken on board of the *Elizabeth*, and taken down to Bank's Peninsula, and that Mara Nui either came on board the *Elizabeth* or was decoyed there, and afterwards the Natives of Entry Island landed and massacred a great number of the people of Banks. I heard once that Mara Nui was enticed on board by a cook who shipped on board the *Elizabeth* at New Zealand, and who is now, I believe, at Otaheiti. I never saw any chains upon Mara Nui when I saw him on board the *Elizabeth*.

|                                  |   |                |
|----------------------------------|---|----------------|
| SWORN in the Magistrates Private | } | ARTHUR KEMMIS. |
| Room Police Office, Sydney,      |   |                |
| 5th February, 1831, before       |   |                |
| F ROSSI J.P.                     |   |                |
| P. Superintendent of Police      |   |                |
| FREDK. A. HELY J.P.              |   |                |

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#### BROWN'S DEPOSITIONS.

WILLIAM BROWN, being sworn, on his oath saith.

I am a seaman on board the *Elizabeth*, Stewart, Master. I shipped in England 14 months ago. I have been employed on board the said ship ever since. I was at New Zealand. We first touched at Whangaroa and afterwards at Entry Island. When at the latter place we took on board a number of natives, I should think about 100. They were armed with muskets and native arms. They came on board in their own canoes and brought their own provisions along with them to Bank's Peninsula. We kept them on board three or four days after our arrival there. They were kept down below, but a number of them appeared on deck. They went ashore in the ship's boats in the evening. They took their arms with them. They

went away some few miles from where the ship lay. The next morning they returned on board the *Elizabeth* in canoes. There was a native woman on board; she was the wife of a chief named Mara Nui. Three or four days after our arrival and before the landing of the natives, the Captain and the Trading Master (Mr. Cowell) went on shore in the boat to shoot. There were four or five men of the ship in the boat unarmed, and on our return we met a canoe with a chief in it; he hailed us, and we pulled slowly till he came up with us; he was very glad to see us; Mr. Cowell spoke to him in the native language, and afterwards the chief came on board the ship—very gladly as it appeared to me. A little girl about 11 years of age, and three or four natives, were with him. The little girl and the chief came on board our boat, and the other boat rowed away. The Chief and the little girl went down into the cabin and they were kept there. The same evening the natives of Entry Island went ashore, as I have before related. When the Chief was aboard, 2 or 3 canoes came on board and were seized by the natives of Entry Island, and the men put below. The Entry Island natives took the canoes and went on shore with them and a skiff and a whale boat belonging to the ship. In a day or two after, we returned to Entry Island, and all the natives went ashore. I heard that Mara Nui and his wife strangled the little girl. All the men seized at Banks Peninsula and the Chief, Mara Nui, were taken ashore at Entry Island. They went ashore in the native canoes. On our return from Banks Peninsula I picked up two human hands and some other bones which were flung overboard. The natives of Entry Island brought on board at Banks Peninsula several baskets of flesh which they afterwards cooked, and we judged that it was human flesh. Mara Nui, when he came on board, was invited, I think, by the Chief Mate to go down below. The Captain was at this time in the boat. The Chief was the first to go up out of the boat into the *Elizabeth*. The Chief Mara Nui, was in irons—leg irons—all the time he was on



board. The Chief Mate supplied the irons. The wife of Mara Nui was put in irons after they strangled the child. The Chief, Mara Nui, and his wife were taken on shore at Entry Island. I heard that the ship was to be filled with flax for the service of taking the Entry Island people to Banks Peninsula. That was the general report on board the ship. As soon as the Entry Island people returned on board from Banks Peninsula the Captain desired 10 of the ships guns to be fired. There was no shot in the guns. We heard that the Entry Island people killed a good many people and burned a village while they were ashore. I went ashore with the Captain and Trading Master on the morning after the Entry Island people had landed and four or five of the ship's crew all armed with small arms and swords by order of the Captain. I saw the bodies of 6 or 7 people that had been killed the preceding night, and the village was still in flames. The bodies consisted of men, women, and children. About a dozen of the Entry Island natives were there when we landed. In about half an hour after that we returned on board the *Elizabeth*. Mr. Cowell, I believe, spoke to the Entry Island natives. One of the females of Banks Peninsula I saw come out of a house which had been set fire to, and she was covered with blood as if wounded. The natives at Entry Island pushed her down the hill and killed her by throwing spears at her. The First Mate, Mr. Clementson, was at this time on board the *Elizabeth* to take care of Mara Nui. Francis Richardson and George Brown were in the boats. We heard from the Europeans on the main that Mara Nui and his wife were killed. Hacho and Roberry were names of two of the chiefs of Entry Island that we took in the *Elizabeth* to Banks Peninsula. Roberry and another great chief landed with us in the ship's boat the morning after the general landing of the Entry Island people. The Chiefs Hacho and Roberry remained on shore. The ship's boat went again in the afternoon and Mr. Cowell or Mr. Richardson had the command. We then landed on the other side of the harbour and saw the natives of Entry

cutting up the bodies of persons killed, belonging to the Banks Peninsula. We brought up nine natives of New Zealand to Sydney. One of these is a native of Banks Peninsula. He is now on board. Seven of the natives have run away since our arrival at Sydney.

SWORN the 7th February, 1831  
before

The mark of

X

WILLIAM BROWN

F. ROSSI J.P.

P. Superintend of Police.

FREDK. A. HELY J.P.

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SWAN'S DEPOSITIONS.

JOHN SWAN, being sworn, on his oath saith.

I am a carpenter on board the Brig *Elizabeth*, Stewart, Master. I shipped on board her at the London Docks, 22 February, 1830. I have been on board ever since. I was on board of her at New Zealand. I was at Entry Island about the month of September last in the *Elizabeth*. We staid there about three weeks. We took on board there some natives about 100 men. They had muskets and tomahawks. There were chiefs on board. We went afterwards with them to Banks, where, in two or three days after our arrival, the crew were called out, and the skiff and whaleboat were manned with part of the ship's crew, and the natives of Entry were landed on each side of the Harbour, with their arms. This was between 1 and 2 in the morning. On the day before that the Captain was on shore with his boat, and on his return he had a native chief of Banks named Mara Nui with him. Mara Nui came on board and either was invited, or of his own accord went down below in the cabin. The Captain, Richardson, and George Brown were in the boat when the Chief came on deck first. Mr. Clementson was on the deck. I saw him (the Chief) afterwards. He was kept in the fore cabin. He was in irons. His wife was

with him, and a little girl, his daughter, that came on board with him. His wife came on board afterwards, on the same afternoon that he came on board. The natives of Entry who had landed came again on board the following night, and they brought baskets with them, but I do not know of my own knowledge that any human flesh was in them. I saw a human hand after our arrival at Entry. It was brought up out of the hold. Mr. Cowell (the trading master) was on board the boat which brought Mara Nui on board. After the landing of the Entry Island natives I saw the smoke of a fire in the village ashore, and that morning before breakfast I saw the Captain return on board, and after that (after breakfast) a boat from the ship go ashore with two of the Entry Island chiefs, Mr. Cowell and Wm. Brown. The boat's crew had arms in their hands. After Mara Nui was brought on board, two canoes of Banks came on board with six or seven persons, who were seized by the natives of Entry and taken down into the hold. The canoes were kept, and went ashore with the general landing of the Entry Island people. The skiff and whaleboat accompanied. When the natives of Entry returned on board, they brought with them about twenty prisoners who were put down in the hold. I went on shore with the boat after breakfast. On the morning at the general landing, two chiefs, one of them called Rapaura, Richardson, William Brown, George Wall, and Mr. Cowell were in the boat. We were armed with swords and pistols, and we all landed on one side of the harbour. The Chiefs joined some of the natives of Entry Island. There were lying on the ground fifteen or sixteen dead bodies of men, women and children. I saw some of the Entry Island natives, and the two chiefs, cut up some of the bodies and make a fire. In about two hours the Chiefs came to the boat, and we returned on board the *Elizabeth*. We remained at Banks altogether about five or six days. The vessel then returned to Entry Island with the natives and their prisoners. The prisoners all landed there except the little girl, the

daughter of Mara Nui, who, I heard, was strangled on board by her parents. The irons that were put on Mara Nui were put on by the Chief Mate. I was desired by the Captain to go down with two others to assist him. He made no resistance, but spoke, and seemed, much agitated. On our return all the prisoners were kept down in the hold. The Entry Island natives were down in the hold. The prisoners were landed there. Mara Nui's wife was first landed, and two or three days after, Raparau, the Chief of Entry Island, took Mara Nui away. Francis Richardson brought him up from the fore cabin. Captain Stewart was on board, but I can't say if he was on deck or not. Raparau took away the Chief, Mara Nui, in a canoe manned with natives, and I heard that he was afterwards killed. I heard that the ship was to have a cargo of flax for the service. We were to have a preference in the trade to any other vessels that might come in. We received there about 16 or 18 tons of flax. We were about six weeks taking it in. It had to be made. At Banks the assistance given by the ship was towing the skiff full of men (natives) on shore. On the return of the Entry Island natives on board after the fight, the guns were fired, with powder only.

SWORN the 7th February, 1831

before

JOHN SWAN.

F. ROSSI J.P.

P. Superintend of Police.

FREDK. A. HELY J.P.

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OPINION OF THE CROWN LAW OFFICER.

George Street, Sydney,

7th February, 1831.

Sir

I have read over the depositions respecting the transactions said to have taken place at New Zealand between



the Master and Officers of the vessel *Elizabeth*, and the natives of that place, and I think they do not disclose a sufficient body of facts to warrant a commitment of any of the parties by the Magistrates. I have also very great doubt (notwithstanding the atrocity of conduct of the parties concerned) whether any offence has been committed which is cognizable by the Common Law of England. If there had been, the clause alluded to in the Act of 9 Geo 4th. cap. 83 would certainly reach it.

I have, etc.,

The Hnble

W. H. MOORE,

Colonial Secretary.

#### THE LEGAL DIFFICULTY.

The Section in question (9 Geo. IV. Cap. 83, Sec. 4) is published for the reader's information.

“And be it further enacted, That the said Supreme Court in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land respectively shall and may enquire of, hear, and determine all Treasons, Piracies, Felonies, Robberies, Murders, Conspiracies, and other Offences, of what Nature or Kind soever, committed or that shall be committed . . . in the Islands of New Zealand, . . . by the Master or crew of any British Ship or Vessel, or any of them . . . and that all Persons convicted of any of the Offences so to be enquired of, heard, and determined in the said Courts respectively, shall be subject and liable to and shall suffer all such and the same Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures as by any Law or Laws now in force Persons convicted of the same respectively, would be subject and liable to in case the same had been committed and were respectively enquired of, tried, heard, determined, and adjudicated in England: any Law, Statute, or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

COLONIAL SECRETARY TO CROWN SOLICITOR.

Colonial Secretary's Office,  
12th February, 1831.

Sir

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant stating that you entertained great doubt whether any offence has been committed which is cognizable by the Criminal Law of England by the Master and part of the crew of the brig *Elizabeth* in their late transactions at New Zealand, I have the honor by direction of His Excellency the Governor to return to you the enclosed Depositions in the case and to request that you will immediately file Criminal Informations against the Master.

Depositions  
7th Feb. 1831

Mate, Cowell, Richardson, and G. Brown,  
it being considered highly expedient that  
the parties concerned in this atrocious case  
should not go unpunished.

|                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| To               | I have &c.    |
| W. H. Moore Esq. | ALEX. MCLEAY. |
| Crown Solicitor. |               |

CROWN SOLICITOR TO SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

George Street,  
12th February, 1831.

Sir

The Depositions in the New Zealand business do not give me the names of the parties. I have prepared everything according to my instructions from the Colonial Office, but I cannot proceed without the proper Christian names. I have sent to Messrs. Lamb and Buchanan and everywhere I can think, but cannot obtain them, and I fear it is now too late to do anything further this evening.

If the vessel should not sail till Monday pray let me know early in the morning in order that I may obtain a Judge's Warrant to apprehend the parties.

Yours &amp;c.

F. ROSSI Esq.

W. H. MOORE.

CROWN SOLICITOR TO SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

George Street, Sydney

17th February, 1831

Sir

Having filed an Information in the Supreme Court against the Master of the brig *Elizabeth*, and others concerned in the late transactions at New Zealand, I now enclose you the depositions already taken in order that you may take such depositions of other persons as will enable me to lay the case before the Supreme Court at the ensuing Sessions (now the Civil Court has adjourned) I am about to prepare for.

I am &c.

W. H. MOORE.

F. ROSSI Esq.

P. Superintendent of Police.

The Depositions were returned to me 23rd February, 1831.

W.H.M.

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COLONIAL SECRETARY TO CROWN SOLICITOR.

Colonial Secretary's Office,

8th April, 1831.

Sir

Drawing your attention to my letter of the 12th February last. I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to request that you will let me know for his information the present state of the enquiry respecting the conduct of the Master and Crew of the brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand.

I have &c

ALEXR MCLEAY.

H. W. MOORE Esq.,

Crown Solicitor.

CROWN SOLICITOR TO COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Attorney General's Chambers.

12th April, 1831

Sir

In answer to your letter of 8th instant respecting the conduct of the Master and Crew of the brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand, I have the honor to state to you for the information of His Excellency the Governor that in pursuance of the instructions I received from him through your office, I filed an information in the office of the Supreme Court and moved the Court for a Bench Warrant thereon against all the parties named in your letter of 12th February last, which was placed in the hands of the Chief Constable who apprehended the Master of the vessel, Captain Stewart, whom I afterwards admitted to bail to appear before the Supreme Court when called upon for trial. The other parties I understood from the Chief Constable when I last spoke to him had not been apprehended in consequence of their keeping out of the way. I am given to understand by Mr. Keith, who has been retained by Mr. Gordon Davies Browne on the part of the prosecution, that exertions have been made by some individuals in Sydney to get the last mentioned parties with the most material witnesses to the transaction, out of the Colony, and that Gentleman informs me he is now preparing a statement to lay before the Governor on that head.

I enclose copies of two letters I wrote to the Principal Superintendent of Police on this matter but the Depositions were subsequently returned to me without any fresh evidence having been taken.

I have &amp;c

W. H. MOORE

The Honble

The Colonial Secretary

(Copies of letters of 12th and 17th Feb. encl.)



COLONIAL SECRETARY TO SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

Colonial Secretary's Office,  
13th April, 1831

Sir

In transmitting to you the accompanying extract of a letter from Mr. Moore, I am directed by the Governor to request that you will call upon the Chief Constable to account for his not having executed the Warrant put into his hands for the apprehending the parties concerned in the affair of the brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand, and that you will express to him His Excellency's desire that he will immediately use all possible diligence to apprehend those parties, or to learn how, and by whose means, they, and the witnesses, have been sent out of the Colony, if such is the case.

Mr. Moore's Letter  
12th April, 1831

I have &amp;c

ALEX MCLEAY

The Principal Superintendent  
of Police.

COLONIAL SECRETARY TO CROWN SOLICITOR.

Colonial Secretary's Office  
13th April, 1831

Sir

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, I am directed by the Governor to request that you will let me know for His Excellency's information what measure you took for securing the evidence of the witnesses in the case of the brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand.

I have &amp;c

ALEX MCLEAY

W. H. MOORE Esq.,  
Crown Solicitor.

GOVERNOR DARLING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

New South Wales

Government House

13th April, 1831.

My Lord

. . . . .  
I have to make known to your Lordship the circumstance of an event which is distinguished as an act of premeditated atrocity on the part of the Master and Crew of a British Vessel, the object of which was to obtain a common article of merchandize.

It appears that a Captain Stewart, of the brig *Elizabeth*, a Trader between this and New Zealand, being desirous of procuring a Cargo of Flax, proceeded for the purpose to Entry Island, which lies in Cooks Straits and there entered into an agreement with a chief name Rauparaha to supply him, on the condition of his conveying Rauparaha and his Tribe to Banks Peninsula, which is on the eastern Coast of the Middle Island, (The Islands of New Zealand consisting of three) in order to their having an opportunity of avenging some act formerly committed by the People of that District.

Captain Stewart received the Chief and his People on board the *Elizabeth*, who, it is stated, were numerous, exceeding 100, and proceeded with them according to his Agreement.

The following was related to me this morning, by a son of one of the principal Chiefs, who said his father had desired he would come to Sydney and tell the Governor all that happened, that the White People might be punished.

This man who appeared extremely intelligent, stated that the Natives were kept on board the *Elizabeth* in perfect secrecy, so much so, that it was not known that they had arrived, until some days after, when they landed. It appears that Captain Stewart went on shore, in the meantime, and used every possible artifice by professions

of kindness and the offer of arms and ammunition, to induce the Chief of the District, Mara Nui, to go on board of his Brig. He at length succeeded and Mara Nui took his daughter with him, a girl, as described, of 11 or 12 years old.

They were taken into the Cabin and Mara Nui was immediately put in Irons by the Mate named Clementson. Unacquainted with his fate, Mara Nui's wife proceeded on board and several Canoes went off, the people as they arrived being secured by Rauparaha, whose Tribe, as I have stated, remained in concealment on board the *Elizabeth*.

After securing the Chief, to which it appears some importance was attached (by the exertions used by Captain Stewart to induce him to visit his Vessel) Rauparaha and his people landed the same night, and appear to have indulged their natural ferocity to the utmost, by putting everyone to death, without distinction of sex or age, and burning their village to the ground.

It seems they were re-embarked, with the remains of their victims, which were not reserved as mere trophies but also made use of to gratify their inhuman appetites. Mara Nui and his Wife, seeing the fate which awaited them, strangled their child; and, as they appear to have foreboded, they, with the other Prisoners, on the return of the *Elizabeth* to Entry Island, were landed and put to death in cold blood.

The Native, whom I have mentioned as having related these facts, was accompanied by a fine lad of about fifteen, the nephew of Mara Nui. He was made prisoner at Banks Peninsula, and said that three of Mara Nui's brothers had been killed on that occasion, or afterwards put to death at Entry Island.

The sanguinary proceedings of these Savages could only be equalled by the atrocious conduct of Captain Stewart and his Crew. Rauparaha may, according to his notions, have supposed that he had sufficient cause for

acting as he did. Captain Stewart became instrumental to the massacre, (which could not have taken place but for his agency) in order to obtain a supply of flax.

This event was first brought under my notice early in the month of February last, and I lost not a moment in giving orders that it should be immediately proceeded in; the *Elizabeth*, the Captain, and the Crew, being here at the time. The depositions which were taken before the Magistrates (Copies of which are enclosed for your Lordship's information) were referred to Mr. Moore, the Crown Solicitor, on the 7th of February, the day they were received. But

No. 1  
7 February, 1831

it will be seen by the accompanying copy of Mr. Moore's Letter, that he entertained doubts whether there were sufficient grounds for putting the parties on their Trial. I, nevertheless, desired that he should proceed, as will be seen by the accompanying

No. 2  
7 February, 1831

correspondence, considering it a case in which the Character of the Nation was implicated and that every possible exertion should be used to bring the offenders to justice. It has, however, lain over to the present time, and there is reason to apprehend, that the parties, with

No. 3  
From 12th February  
to 14th April, 1831

the exception of Captain Stewart, who is admitted to Bail, have all left the Colony, which may render any proceedings in his case ineffectual.

A Mr. Gordon Browne, who resided for some time in New Zealand and who intends to return thither, first brought this matter under notice. I delayed taking any further steps until the result of the legal proceedings should be known. A recent occurrence, however, has induced Mr. Browne again to draw my attention to the subject, which, coupled with the appeal made to me by the New Zealand Chief through his Son, as I have already stated, appears to me to render it necessary that the



Government should not, by any supineness on the part of its Officers which it may have the power of counteracting, allow it to be supposed that these proceedings are countenanced or viewed with indifference. . . . .

I have &c

R. A. DARLING

CROWN SOLICITOR TO COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Attorney General's Chambers

14th April, 1831

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday and beg to state for the information of His Excellency, that I had no means in my power of taking any measures for securing the evidence of witness in the case of the brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand.

I forwarded the Depositions that were taken to the Principal Superintendent of Police for the purpose of obtaining further evidence, but that Gentleman returned them to me, on the ground of his want of jurisdiction, which he in the first instance doubted and therefore forwarded the Depositions to the Government instead of sending them to the Attorney General's office, which is the usual mode, and considering that my letter to you of 7th February last substantiated what he was previously in doubt about he was fearful of proceeding any further.

I have &c

W. H. MOORE.

The Honble

The Colonial Secretary

THE TREASURY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Treasury Chambers

3rd October, 1831

My Lord

I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to acknowledge the receipt of your

Lordship's Letter of the 27th Ultimo transmitting the Copy of a Despatch from Lt General Darling, Governor of New South Wales, respecting the misconduct of Captn Stewart and the Crew of the Brig *Elizabeth* at New Zealand, by whose means atrocities of a most sanguinary nature have been committed by the Natives of one Island against those of another. . . My Lords cannot refrain from expressing their strong sense of the importance of all possible means being employed for bringing to justice Captn Stewart of the *Elizabeth* and any other Persons who may have been principally concerned in the atrocious Crimes of which they are accused. My Lords are surprised that Govr Darling should have been unable to obtain sufficient evidence of all the facts of the Case when the Crew of the *Elizabeth* were at Sydney for putting the principal portion on their trial, and my Lords cannot but remark on the Governor's Statement that the matter "has lain over to the present time," from which expression it would appear that every exertion to bring the accused to justice had not been employed. My Lords have, however, no doubt that the Governor has been directed by Viscount Goderich to leave no exertion untried for the purpose of obtaining Evidence, and bringing the Chief offenders to justice, and my Lords will refer Governor Darling's letter to the King's Proctor for any suggestions he may have to offer with a view to the same object, and as it appears by the said letter that other Documents relating to these atrocities have been received at the Secretary of State's Office My Lords will direct the King's Proctor to attend at his Lordship's office for the purpose of inspecting such Papers as Lord Goderich may be pleased to permit him to examine.

I am

My Lord

Your Obedient Servant

J. STEWART

KING'S PROCTOR TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

To

The Right Honourable

The Lords Commissioners

of His Majesty's Treasury

May it please your Lordships

I was duly honored with Mr. Stewart's letter of the 14th October last transmitting by Your Lordships Commands a letter from Lord Howick dated the 27th of the preceding month of September enclosing the copy of a Despatch from the Governor of New South Wales stating that atrocities of a most sanguinary nature had been committed at New Zealand by certain Natives of one Island against those of another at the instigation of the Crew of a British Merchant Vessel and suggesting certain measures for the protection of the lives and properties of the British subjects residing in New Zealand as well as the very valuable Trade of those Islands. Mr Stewart also transmits a copy of Your Lordship's Minute thereon of the 30th of the said month of October for my information and guidance. Upon perusal of the Minute it appeared that Your Lordships had been pleased to refer Governor Darling's Letter and Enclosures to me for any suggestions I might have to offer with a view to bringing to Justice Captain Stewart of the *Elizabeth* and any other person who may have been principally concerned in the atrocious crimes of which they are accused and that it was Your Lordship's pleasure that I should attend at Lord Howick's Office for the purpose of inspecting such other papers relating to these atrocities as Lord Goderich might permit me to examine. And I do most humbly report that having attended at his Lordship's office accordingly I was permitted to peruse the whole of the Papers relating to this subject, the substance of which together with that of the several Documents referred by Your Lordships were stated in a case which I submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Advocate General and subsequently at his sug-

gestion and with the concurrence of Mr. Stewart to His Majesty's Attorney & Solicitor General. And I have now the honor to transmit for Your Lordship's Information A copy of such case and of the opinion of His Majesty's Advocate and Attorney and Solicitor General thereon.

All of which I do most humbly submit to Your Lordships Wisdom

NICHOLL

Doctors Commons

5 December, 1831

(Enclosure.)

Copy of the Opinion of the King's Advocate and of the Attorney and Solicitor-General on a Case relating to the conduct of Captain Stewart of the Merchant Brig *Elizabeth* engaged in trading between New South Wales and New Zealand.

His Majesty's Advocate and Mr Attorney and Solicitor General are requested to consider the Facts and Circumstances of the Case as appearing in the papers stated and with reference to the strong sense expressed by the Lords of the Treasury of the importance of all possible means being employed for bringing to Justice Captain Stewart of the *Elizabeth* and any other persons who may have been principally concerned in the atrocious crimes of which they are accused. They are further requested to suggest any measures which may occur to them as proper to be adopted for effecting the object which their Lordships have in view.

Opinion of His Majesty's Advocate and Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-General.

We think it clear that by the Law of England Captain Stewart and Clementson as the Mate are guilty as accomplices before the Fact, to the Murder of Mara Nui and his wife if not to that of the Tribe which was massacred and we think the Fact fully proved by the Witnesses. It is also clear that the 3rd and 4th Sections of the 9th of Geo 4 Cap. 83 give the Court at Van Diemens Land Jurisdiction to try these offences. We therefore lament that measures for securing and bringing them to Trial were not taken at New South Wales. We advise that they should be



apprehended as soon as they can be met with and brought to their Trial when the attendance of the Witnesses against them can be procured. . . . .

Signed HUBERT JENNER  
T. DENMAN  
WM. HORNE

Doctors Commons  
2 Dec. 1831

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COPY OF TREASURY MINUTE DATED 23rd DEC, 1831.

23477 Read Report from the King's Proctor dated 5 Dec. 1831 enclosing the Copy of a Case which he had submitted for the opinion of the King's Advocate and the Attorney and the Solicitor General on the atrocities committed at New Zealand by the connivance of Captain Stewart of the Brig *Elizabeth*.

Transmit this Report together with the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown and all the other papers on the subject to the Solicitor desiring him, after having fully considered the difficulties which may be opposed to bringing the accused persons to trial in this Country; to report what measures in his opinion it would be advisable for My Lords to take in order that the two persons whom the Law Officers consider to be guilty of the atrocious crimes described in these papers should be brought before the proper Tribunal which My Lords deem it highly important to effect.

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SECRETARY OF STATE TO GOVERNOR.

Downing Street  
31st Jany. 1832

Sir

I have received General Darling's Despatch of the 13th of April last, with its various enclosures, respecting the

proceedings of the Master of the Brig *Elizabeth* with several others of His Majesty's subjects, at the Islands of New Zealand.

It is impossible to read, without shame and indignation, the details which these documents disclose. The unfortunate natives of New Zealand, unless some decisive measures of prevention be adopted, will, I fear, be shortly added to the number of those barbarous tribes, who, in different parts of the Globe, have fallen a sacrifice to their intercourse with civilised men, who bear and disgrace the name of Christians. When, for mercenary purposes, the native of Europe, minister to the passions by which the savages are inflamed against each other, and introduce them to the knowledge of depraved acts and licentious gratifications of the most debased inhabitants of our great cities, the inevitable consequence is, a rapid decline of population preceded by every variety of suffering. Considering what is the character of a large part of the population of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land; what opportunities of settling themselves in New Zealand are afforded them by the extensive intercourse which has recently been established, adverting also to the conduct which has been pursued in these Islands by the Masters and crews of British vessels. . . I cannot contemplate the too probable results without the deepest anxiety. There can be no more sacred duty than that of using every possible method to rescue the natives of the extensive islands from the further evils which impend over them, and to deliver our own country from the disgrace and crime of having either occasioned or tolerated such enormities.

With these views I need scarcely say that the energy with which General Darling appears to have acted, both for the punishment and prevention of these atrocities, merits my warmest acknowledgements. . . .

It is with much regret that I find that the efforts of General Darling to bring to justice the Master and crew of the brig *Elizabeth*, were likely to prove unsuccessful.

The opinion given by Mr. Moore, the Crown Solicitor, is not very intelligible. I conjecture his meaning to have been that the New Zealand Tribes, having been engaged in what must be regarded as legitimate warfare, according to the usages of their own country, could not, with justice or propriety, be charged with murder, and, therefore, that the Master and crew could not be charged as accessories to murder, because the guilt of the principal is essential to the guilt of the accessory. Supposing this reason to be just, still the Master and his crew might have been prosecuted under the Foreign Enlistment Act. But, if I rightly understand the case, they were in fact prosecuted for murder. Yet in his letter of the 12th of April Mr Moore states that "he admitted Captain Stewart to bail, to appear before the Supreme Court when called upon for trial." The statement is quite inexplicable. I can neither understand how the prosecutor himself should assume to act as a magistrate by admitting a prisoner to bail, nor why a prisoner charged with such an offence should have been admitted to bail by any authority whatever. I regret to state that the whole proceeding for the conviction of the offenders appears to me to have been conducted in an inefficient and discreditable manner and you will have the goodness to institute the necessary enquiries to ascertain upon whom the censure justly falls, if, as there is too much reason to apprehend, the prosecution shall prove unsuccessful.

I am &c  
GODERICH

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CHAS. BOURCHIER TO THE TREASURY.

Lincolns Inn

5 April, 1832

In obedience to My Lords Commands signified by your letter of the 31st ulto directing me to transmit a detailed account of the measures which I have pursued with a view

to determine the proper course of proceeding for bringing to trial the Master and Mate of the Ship *Elizabeth* on a charge of being concerned in atrocious crimes committed in New Zealand as detailed in the papers transmitted to me in your letter of the 24 Dec. last. I beg leave to acquaint you for My Lords information that upon the receipt of your first letter I wrote to the Secretary of the Customs stating that it appeared that the *Elizabeth* was in the London Docks on the 22nd Feby. 1830, and sailed soon afterwards for Sydney, and requesting that he would if possible afford me any clue by which I might discover where the ship, the Master, the Mate or any of the Crew were as the papers in my hands afforded me no information whatever on these points.

In reply I received a letter from Mr. Walford the Solicitor to the Customs stating that the *Elizabeth* had not returned to England, that he had been unable to procure the names of her crew, but that he would endeavour to obtain information for me, that he had written to Yarmouth to which port the ship belonged and as soon as any intelligence was received it should be transmitted to me. I have since seen Mr Walford but he has hitherto been unable to supply any further information on the subject except that Mr. Stewart has not for some time been master of the *Elizabeth*.

I am &c

CHAS BOURCHIER.

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SOLICITOR MAULE TO TREASURY.

Lincolns Inn

23rd April, 1832

Sir

With reference to your letter of the 24 Decr last enclosing Copy of Case and opinion of His Majesty's Advocate and Attorney and Solicitor General, on a Letter from Lord Howick and other papers relating to atrocities committed at New Zealand by some of the Natives of one



Island against those of another at the instigation of the Master and Crew of the British Merchant Ship *Elizabeth*, together with the other papers on the subject, and desiring me after having fully considered the difficulties which may be opposed to bringing the accused persons to trial in this Country to report what measures in my opinion it would be advisable for My Lords to take in order that the two persons whom the Law Officers consider to be guilty of the atrocious crimes described in these papers should be brought before the proper Tribunal which My Lords deem it highly important to effect. I beg leave to acquaint you that the parties accused are amenable to the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land under the provisions of the Act 9 Geo. 4, C. 83, S. 4 and to the criminal jurisdiction of this Country under a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to be issued pursuant to the enactment of 9 Geo. 4, C. 31, S. 7.

The difficulties which presented themselves to proceeding against the accused at New South Wales when both they and the witnesses were all present within the Jurisdiction seem to have been the insufficiency in the opinion of those who advised the Government there of the Evidence and possibly there may be some deficiency in the depositions as they now stand in the precise proof which the Law would require of the Murder of the Chief Mara Nui, and his Wife, but it seems probable that this deficiency, if there be any such, might be cured upon a further examination of the Witnesses. The Law Officers of the Crown in this Country are of opinion that the fact is fully proved and advise that the parties should be apprehended as soon as they can be met with and brought to trial when the attendance of the witnesses against them can be procured.

The difficulties which present themselves to any proceedings in this Country at present are the absence both of the accused and witnesses. And with reference to this point and to the advice of the Law Officers above stated I

beg leave humbly to call My Lords attention to Mr Bouchier's report of the 3rd Inst. in answer to your letter of the 31st ulto. shewing the steps which had been taken by him in order to ascertain whether the Brig *Elizabeth* by which some of the witnesses and the accused might be expected, had returned to this Country or any tidings were known of them. I would add to that report that having learnt the names and description of the Owners of the Brig and finding John Stewart (one of the accused as I conceive ) to be one I have written to make enquiries after him at Southdown in Suffolk the place of which he is described. I have not thought it advisable to address myself to other owners fearing this might operate as notice to the accused as well as witnesses at their return, and having learned from the Customs that the person who paid the Crew when the Brig left Yarmouth has been applied to but has refused to give the names of the crew.

It is difficult to suggest any measures for bringing these two persons to trial further than the utmost diligence in the lookout for the return of the Brig and her Crew and for the delivery of the witnesses and accused if it shall be found that they form no part of that crew. The Carpenter and a Seaman are material witnesses the others who are material appear to have been Merchants residing at Sydney when their depositions were taken. Another witness, described as a Negro Boy of the name of Perry a Native of Hakaroa Banks Peninsula, can hardly be expected to be now forthcoming and if he were would probably turn out to be an incompetent witness from his want of any religious obligation. It may be that the testimony of the Carpenter and Seaman upon a full examination of them may be thought sufficient, if not other must be sought either from the witnesses at Sydney or other sources and I find from the depositions the names of Francis Richardson, and George Brown, mentioned as part of the crew and of Mr. Cowley as the supercargo and interpreter.

These however may probably be tainted more or less with the character of accomplices. The name of Mr.

Harvey is also mentioned as speaking to a material part of this atrocious scene and he is described as at that time being on the Main Land.

Upon the whole it appears to me that until some tidings can be gained of the Brig and her crew no effectual measures can be suggested for accomplishing the object stated in your letter of the 24 Decr last so far as regards proceedings in this Country. With respect to proceedings at Sydney I humbly submit that the Governor should be apprised that Captain Stewart is no longer Master of the Brig and should be directed in case he or the mate Clementson should appear at Sydney or in that quarter to take such measures as the evidence at Sydney may enable him to do for apprehending and proceeding against them.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient

humble servant

WM. G. MAULE

The Honble

J. Stewart

P.S.—I return the papers.

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THE TREASURY TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

Treasury Chambers

10th May 1832

My Lord

With reference to your Lordship's Letter of the 27th September last on the subject of certain atrocities of a most sanguinary nature which had been committed at New Zealand by the Natives of one Island against Those of another at the Instigation of the Crew of a British Merchant Vessel; I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to transmit to you for the Information of the Secretary, Lord Goderich, a

Copy of the Report of the King's Proctor of the 5th December last together with Copy of the Opinion of the King's Advocate and of the Attorney and Solicitor General transmitted therewith, also a Copy of the Minute of this Board of the 23rd Decr last on the King's Proctor's Report and Copies of the Solicitors Letters of the 5th and 23rd April 1832, All on the subject of the above-mentioned crimes, and I am also to acquaint your Lordship that it appears to My Lords that great difficulties present themselves in bringing Stewart and Clementson, the Principal Offenders to justice in this Country, and that there is greater Probability of the Offenders and Witnesses being collected at Sydney than in England, more particularly as Stewart appears to have been held to Bail, and notwithstanding that the Crown Solicitor expressed a Doubt that there was sufficient Evidence to sustain a Prosecution, when all the crew of the *Elizabeth* were present, yet My Lords trust that when the Governor and the Law Authorities at Sydney are made acquainted with the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England, They will use every effort to obtain Evidence and will not hesitate to bring the Parties to Trial; and, even if they should fail, from want of Evidence, in obtaining a Conviction, yet the Effort of the Colonial Government to bring the Offenders to justice may have a salutary effect on the Proceedings of the Traders with the New Zealand Islands.

At the same Time Their Lordships will not abandon the prospect of prosecuting these two men in England if They should be found, and, will for that purpose instruct Their Solicitor to watch for Their Return, and for that of the Principal Witnesses, to this Country.

I am

My Lord

Your Lordship's Obedient Servant

J. STEWART

Viscount Howick  
&c., &c., &c.



## APPENDIX "B."

### THE ENDERBY RECORDS, 1831.

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THE JOURNAL OF JOHN BISCOE OF THE BRIG "TULA," WITH  
THE CUTTER "LIVELY" IN COMPANY.

*Kindly copied by the Royal Geographical Society from the  
Manuscript Journal in their possession and supplied to the Author with  
permission to publish herein.*

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*October 10th, 1831.*

I intended to have gone through Decastreaux Channel understanding it to be a convenient & safe place for wooding, &c., but the wind coming directly out of the entrance thought it most advisable to save time by anchoring in our old quarters, Bull Bay, and at about 4 p.m. brought up well sheltered by the Point to the S.E. and commenced operations.

On the 12th in the Morning having cut as much wood as could be conveniently stowed away, weighed and stood out to Sea, and being in hopes of falling in with some sperm whale along shore, kept near the Coast for that purpose.

On the 15th it blew a strong gale from the Northward which shifted round W. & W.S.W. until the night of the 17th the Barr appearing to behave very well. I now determined to pass round the North Cape of New Zealand, the Season for sperm whale coming on on that Coast, and not seeing anything here, and besides having a chance of procuring refreshments from that Island, our salt provisions being of the first consequence (should we

not succeed in falling in with anything in passing round) for the remainder of our voyage. But from this time until the 30th the Weather has been so very unsettled almost continually blowing too strong to lower a Boat, that had we seen any Fish we could not have taken advantage of it.

*October 30th.*

Pass'd round the North Cape and shaped a Course for the Mouth of the Bay of Islands. On the 1st A.M. stood in for the Bay intending to stop a short time here for compleating the Water Wood &c. & get refreshments if possible, and likewise to Examine the Cutter's Bow-sprit, Mr. Avery having informed me it was sprung and that a sea at the same time had split his Jib a short time since. At 11 A.M. some New Zealanders came alongside in a Canoe, but had nothing with them except a few Cray Fish and two or three young Birds they had picked up off the rocks. Shortly after a Mr. Hansen came on board with 2 of the chiefs, and being told by them that Pigs might be procured at their Village, I determined to go in to Anchor and at 2 p.m. brought up in a Small well-sheltered Bay in about 5 fathoms water.

*November 1st.*

It does not appear to me that this Bay has been much used for the purpose of refreshing, but from its advantages in entering from or running out again to Sea, not being more than 4 miles from Point Pocock and being likewise clear of any danger (with the exception of 2 or 3 sunken rocks which lay close over to a small Rock on the inside of the Bay) I should certainly recommend this strongly to strangers, there being several dangers in the Passage round to Keadier. Immediately after anchoring Great numbers of the Natives came on board, and as Mr. Hansen had informed me they were quite harmless I did not restrain them; Our trade of course commenced immediately, Muskets, Blankets & Tobacco being the Articles most in requisition among them.

*November 4th.*

On the 3rd & 4th we were busily employed in setting up the rigging Watering Wooding &c. On the morning of this day the 4th the Cutter's Bowsprit being sprung I went over in the Boat to Kearadier to endeavour to procure a spar to make one. I found one 37 feet long for wh I paid 36lbs. of Brazil Tobacco. Having compleated on the 4th & procured about 28 Pigs some of which were very large, on the 5th We stood out to Sea in the hopes of finding some Sperm Whale off the East Cape, before proceeding to the Southward, but strong Gales continuing to blow we saw nothing and if we had; could not have lowered a Boat.

*November 8th.*

On the 8th at noon our Lat. by observatn. was  $36^{\circ} 48'$  S Long.  $178^{\circ} .07'$  East East Cape South about 40 miles, Barometer continuing to act very well being now 29.15 & Blowing a strong Gale from the W.S.W. I was much surprised to hear from Mr. Hansen whilst laying at New Zealand that although there are several Missionaries both of the established church and of the Wesleyan persuasion they refuse to educate the children of the White Settlers, their excuse being that they were sent out to instruct the Heathen only; Mr. H. has a very large family, and if this be strictly true, it is an extremely hard case, but I merely repeat the words of Mr. H. for altho' there were two Missionaries settled at the small village already mentioned, neither of them had the politeness to hold the least communication with me.

*November 9th.*

The Gales continuing until 6 A.M. of the 11th. I considered it only a waste of time to remain any longer in this Latitude with the chance of getting Sperm Whale, and as Chatham Island was not out of our Course, and not having heard of any Ships having been there lately I determined if the Weather permitted to look at it before going farther to the Southward, and desired the Cutter in case of

parting to meet me to Leeward of that Island on the 11th. at Noon. Our Lat. was  $39^{\circ} 13'$  S. Long.  $178^{\circ} 15'$  West. The Bar. which had been gradually rising for the last 2 days, now stood at 29.40 The Weather hazy with a moderate Breeze from S.W.

*November 12th.*

From this time until the 16th we had Gales, Calms, & very unsteady weather on the 13th lost sight of the Cutter. On the night of the 16th stood off & on imagining myself off Chatham Islands.

*November 17th.*

A.M. Much rain & thick weather. At noon made some rocks & head (4 in Number) which are called  $44^{\circ}$  Rocks and at the same time saw the appearance of Land both to the Eastward & Westward. P.M. The Weather being very thick stood to the Northward. 18th thick Hazy Weather the Barometer low.

*November 19th.*

A.M. Saw Land. 8 Saw the Cutter to the Southward observed her make all sail steering wide of the point of Land I wished to visit made all sail after her but the Wind falling light from the Northwd She drew away from us. At noon our Lat. Obsern. was  $43^{\circ} 40'$  South Long. 176.48 East the extremes of Land from W.B.S. to S.E.B.S. Observed the Cutter shorten Sail and heave too with her Head to the Eastward fired a Gun and ran down to her with the Ensign at the Mast Head for her to close, when she was little more than Hull down from the deck. The Weather very clear, I imagined of course she must see us and indeed that she had done so all days altho' she did not answer my signal; which I can't account for, I now haul'd in for the Land, to send the Boats on shore thinking the Cutter would follow, but as she still took no notice I kept on intending to pick her up after the Boats should have return'd. At 5 p.m. the Boats returned bringing with them



three Natives who seem'd willing to remain with us, but having seen no seal and as I did not wish to encumber the vessel with these People who for some time to come could do nothing but consume the provisions I sent them on shore again they were quite naked with the exception of a course Mat over the shoulders which seem'd to be used as a roof to them to turn the water off, as the moment they came on deck they squatted down like so many monkeys and the Mat being stiff, of course stuck out something like the shell of a turtle. Added to this a strap of the same material passed under the crutch compleatly concealed what might otherwise have appear'd indelicate. After the Boat had landed them I steer'd E.N.E. to join the Cutter, the weather having become very thick, I had for some time lost sight of her. After steering E.N.E. for some time I haul'd to the Wind, and as she always weather'd on the *Tula* in laying to, I hoped to see her in the Morning. If Mr. Avery did not see the *Tula* he kept a very bad look out, and if he did, he having been absent for some days, ought to have joined company immediately, at all events he ought not to have passed the point of Land as he did without examining it, this being the only fine day we had had for some time, I cannot account for it. At 6 p.m. the nearest point of Land bore W. $\frac{1}{2}$  N. 7 miles, the Wind gradually veer'd round to the Westward and at Midnight blew a strong Gale with thick weather which continued all the 20th & 21st so that we could only stand off & on under the trysails. On the 22nd the Weather was more moderate, stood to the S.W. and at 6 A.M. of the 23rd made the same rocks we had seen before. As the weather was nearly calm at 1 p.m. sent a Boat to them and at 5 she return'd bringing 7 seal skins of excellent fur, but the rocks being nearly perpendicular it was almost impossible to land on any part of them, and as they had only seen a few seal, it was thought these were only stragglers from some Rookery near at hand: I now determined to make Chatham Island and keep along the East Shore, so as to gain the Rocks to the Southward, which by their appearance on the Chart.

were much larger than those we had overhauled, lay to all night to send both Boats again in the Morning but the Wind coming up from the Northward they could not land and

*November 24th.*

at 8 A.M. I bore up for Chatham Island, the Weather being very hazy at 11 heave too. At noon the Land was seen bearing from N.N.W. to S.W.B.S. P.M. Hazy Weathr the Wind strong from the N.N.W. stood for under the lee of the Northern most Land. 4. The Weather became very thick, during the Night sounded from 52 to 70 fathoms, sandy bottom & in some places mixed with shells. At Midnight calm.

*November 25th.*

Thick weather. The Wind Easterly. Barometer very low (29.15) stood to the Northward, it not being safe to make a lee shore of Chatham Island, there being many reefs laid down on the chart. On the 26th the Weather still continuing thick, Wind S.S.E. I determined to bear up and go round the west side of the Island and look at the Sister Rocks in the Way. The Lat. by D.R. at noon was  $43^{\circ} .34'$  S. Longit. calculated from the last bearings of the land  $176^{\circ} .00'$  West No observations worth anything for the chronometers for many days. At 4 p.m. saw the Cutter standing to the eastward. At 8 the Cutter joined Company. Mr. Avery inform'd me that his Boat had been at some Rocks a few days before where there were many Seals, in consequence of which I hauled to the Eastward. On the 28 we again made the  $44^{\circ}$  Rocks and found them to be the same Mr. Avery's boat had been at before, but in consequence of the heavy swell they could not now land, and the Weather appearing more favorable. I now stood towards the Cornwallis Islands, but the Weather again became thick with a strong N.W. Wind and obliged me to haul out again to the northward which continued all the 30th.

*November 30th.*

P.M. At 8 p.m. This day the 44° Rocks S.E.B.E. N.E. point of Chatham Island S.W. much rain, with heavy squalls from all points of the compass. On the 1st December the Wind being S.W. with clear Weather stood again to the Southward. A.M. of the 2nd sent the Boats in shore to Sound & look for Anchorage; being close down upon the largest of the Islands, sounded in from 30 to 10 fathoms. At 3 p.m. brought up in a Bight on the Eastern Side of the largest of the Cornwallis Islands.

*December 2nd.*

The Wind N.W. and having good shelter from N. to S.B.E. sandy bottom, consequently bad holding ground, & open to all the Easterly Winds, having only a bad shelter from the Small Island which bore S.E. about 4 Miles with Reefs above Water & below in every direction as far as the eye could reach, but as from the Sample we had got from the 44° Rocks there was every appearance of finding Seal I determined to search well there for them. I immediately sent all the boats away on the small Island, and observed Some Pigs and shot one Sow which in all probability had been brought here from Chatham Island by the Natives, and to my great surprise saw a large Black Cat. I likewise shot some very large white & blue pigeon. Mr. Fell found some Canoes haul'd up on the large Island but we found not a single Seal upon any of the Rocks near these Islands—Altho' no place could be better adapted for their Gathering. On the 3rd and 4th it blew a strong gale from W.N.W. to W.S.W. these Islands abound in Fern root & Flax which grows spontaneously in almost every part of them, But I found great difficulty in procuring a small quantity for the Pigs on account of the heavy Surf which continually breaks on the Beach & Rocks. I found in one of these Excursions the wreck of a small Vessel of about 100 tons built of a Kind of cedar & iron-fastened, and as a vessel from Sidney some years ago was lost here called the *Glory* it may very probably be the same. On

the 6th being disappointed here—I weighed and made sail to the Northward not thinking it prudent to risk finding a passage to the Southward and had some difficulty in working out, the Weather being thick and the Wind from the Northward we were obliged to keep Chatham Island on board and go chiefly by the Lead.

*December 12th.*

I again sent the Boats to the Sister Rocks. At 4 p.m. they returned 16 Skins which they procured with great difficulty. Made Sail to the Southward, in passing along the Land I observed other dangerous reefs which are not laid down in any of the Charts.

*December 13th.*

Strong Westerly Gales.

*December 15th.*

Strong Northerly Winds, thick Weather Lat. by A/-  $46^{\circ} 42'$  S. Longit.  $177^{\circ} 43'$  W. Baromr. 29..20. Cutter in company standing for the Bounty Islands.

*December, 16th.*

On the 16th & 17th we had strong gales from the W.N.W. & W. P.M. lost sight of the Cutter the Weather very thick; on the 19th Weather still continuing thick with a brisk Gale from the Eastward and heavy swell—& many Penguins & much Kelp about us I imagined myself close on the Islands: but as I had not had an observation for 3 days. could not be certain of my position. At noon I had run into Lat. & Long. of Bounty Islands, but as no land was in sight, concluded they were not correctly laid down. P.M. The wind strong from the Eastward with a heavy Swell, I haul'd out to the S.E. and at 8 p.m. the Water appearing discoloured I sounded & found bottom about 70 fathoms, sand & shells wore to the Northward the Swell running very high. and the Wind becoming light, So that we made considerable drift, we passed a fatiguing and unpleasant night Sounding in from 100 to 65 fathoms,



and not being able to see more than a Cable's length in any direction. On the 20th strong Easterly Gales with much rain & thick Weather. Soundings fm 60 to 100 fathoms carrying a press of Sail to the Eastward as the Bank shoals to the S.W. The Penguins all this time were very thick, and considerable quantities of Kelp about, and as this Bank is of considerable Extent and Soundings regular I was in hopes to find some large Island.

*December 21st.*

The Wind from the Westward with clearer weather but we had no bottom and nothing in Sight. At 7 A.M. of the

*December 22nd.*

22nd Saw the Bounty Rocks at 9.30 sent the boats on shore at 11 saw the Cutter to the Southd. at Noon the Centre of the Rocks bore W.B.S. about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  Miles They are 8 or 9 in number. Our Lat.  $47^{\circ} 49'$  So. Long.  $178^{\circ} 26' 0''$ , East by Good observations which places them in  $47^{\circ} 50'$  S. Long.  $178^{\circ} ..25'$  East (erroneously laid down  $47^{\circ} 35'$  S. Long.  $179^{\circ} ..06'$  East. At 2 p.m. spoke the Cutter found she had not met with any accident. The Boats returned having seen only 5 seal on one of the Rocks which they could not approach on account of the Swell, but they found on landing on one of the Rocks a Hut the roof of which was formed of the Skins and Wings of Birds, a baking dish, a Water Cask, a Bottle half filled with oil, some pieces of fire wood an Irish (provision) Cask & other things which clearly proved that Europeans had been recently there. The tops of the Rocks were covered with Penguins, Gulls & other Birds. The Weather was now very clear and had any land been within 30 Miles we must have seen it. I now determined to proceed directly to the Southward.

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## APPENDIX "C."

### THE *HARRIETT* PAPERS, 1834.

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#### (1) MRS. GUARD'S ACCOUNT.

"Mrs. Guard states, that when the New Zealanders first took her prisoner she was nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, which was flowing from the wounds she received in her head with their tomahawks. They voraciously licked the blood, and, when it ceased to flow, attempted to make an incision in her throat for that purpose, with part of an iron hoop. They then stripped her and her children naked, dragged her to their huts, and would have killed her, had not a chief's wife kindly interfered in her behalf, and when the bludgeon was raised with that intention, threw a rug over her person and saved her life. The savages took the two children from under her arms and threw them on the ground; and, while they were dividing the property they had stolen from the crew of the *Harriet*, kept running backwards and forwards over the children as they lay upon the ground—one of which, the youngest still retains the marks of this brutal operation. They afterwards delivered the youngest child to the mother, and took the other away into the bush, and Mrs. Guard did not see it for two months after. A short time had elapsed, when the Natives took Mrs. Guard to Wymattee, about forty miles from where the *Harriet* was wrecked, being in a perfect state of nudity, both her and her children, where they gave her an old shirt; this was the only covering she, and the infant sucking at her breast, had for the whole of the winter. They gave her potatoes to eat; and as she had made them great promises of what they would receive when Mr. Guard returned, if they spared her life, they did not afterwards ill-use her. In this state she remained for

about five months; and during that time, saw the Natives cut up and eat those they killed belonging to the *Harriet*, (one of whom was Mrs. Guard's brother), occasionally bringing some pieces of human flesh to her, and asking her to partake of it with them. When the vessels arrived off the Nooma, they brought her down and expected the long-promised payment; Captain Guard immediately seized the man who had her, and secured him. The Natives on seeing this, fired several shots at Mr. Guard; and the military, not having come up to Captain Guard's assistance in sufficient time to secure her, the New Zealanders ran away with Mrs. Guard into the bush, and took her back to Wymattee. Here they again wanted to kill her, but as numbers of them were against it, expecting she would fetch a large sum, she was allowed to live. The *Alligator* followed to Wymattee, and exchanged the native prisoner for Mrs. Guard and her child; the other child was afterwards given up as we have before stated. As soon as the unfortunate Mrs. Guard and child were on board, they were treated with the greatest kindness by the officers and men of the *Alligator*, who also made a subscription for them. Mr. and Mrs. Guard have requested us to take this opportunity of acknowledging their sincere gratitude for the kindness of the officers on board His Majesty's ship *Alligator*, both of them and family—not in only rescuing them from savage thralldom, but for their charitable treatment afterwards—the recollection of which will never be effaced."

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#### (2) THE SAILORS' ACCOUNT.

"On the 10th of September a mob of natives came running into the hut where we stopped, calling out "corbura corbura," (a ship); we rushed out and saw two vessels bearing down towards us. You may imagine how we felt, having been five months among these wretches, eaten up with vermin, half starved, nearly naked, and our lives in hourly danger. At nine o'clock the wind changing, the vessels bore away. As one of them seemed

to us to be a man of war, we expected their return the first fair wind. On the 22nd the two vessels again hove in sight, and having a fine breeze, in a few hours anchored under the par where we were. The natives were very anxious to know what ship it was, and hearing us talk of the man of war, began to be very frightened, and told us they did not like to see the sailors with pistols and megara roar (a big knife) by their sides. Instead of asking us to pay them in muskets, blankets, powder, &c., they said, they would be content with a few pipes or a bit of tobacco. By this time the *Alligator* had sent her boats ashore, and the natives did not hesitate to let us go on board, and in an hour's time we were under weigh. Captain Lambert and the officers kindly provided us with clothes which were much wanting.

.....

"On Mr. Guard stepping out of the boat, one of the chiefs came up to shake hands with him whom he recognised as the one who had ordered the men to rush at the fight on the 10th of May, he being the chief who detained Mrs. Guard; he was accordingly secured and taken in the boat of the *Alligator*.

.....

"The chief told Captain Lambert that if he would take him ashore at a place called Naturawey, he would call out for Mrs. Guard and the children.

.....

"Before we had been long on shore, and before we could reach the hills above the beach, we saw the natives coming, one of them carrying the boy on his back. Captain Guard with seven of his crew and a few of the sailors of the *Alligator*, went to receive the boy, who was dressed in a clean mat, with several feathers on his head. A sailor of the name of Ruff, captain of the forecastle of the *Alligator*, was the first who reached the boy, and finding him fastened to the man's back by an old mat, took out his knife, and securing the child, deliberately drew his knife across the man's throat. The crew of the *Harriett*, finding the child safe, now determined on having ample revenge on the



murderers of their shipmates, and there being about 103 natives assembled on the beach, we fired upon them; the soldiers on the hill supposing that orders had been given for firing, commenced a discharge of musketry upon them; numbers of their dead strewed the beach, the others fled for shelter to their par and to the woods.

.....  
 "All the remaining crew of the *Harriet* shipped on board the *Elizabeth*, Cap. Currie, for England, except the carpenter, who came up in the *Isabella* schooner."

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(3) COMPLAINT OF "HARRIETT'S" CREW.

To the Editor of the "Sydney Times."

Sir

Under the present circumstances, I have been advised by a few friends to mention to you some particulars concerning the fate of the barque *Harriett* and her crew.

After being among the natives for about five months, we were happily relieved by the aid of Captain Lambert, to whom I return my most sincere thanks for his humanity towards me and my shipmates. Words cannot express the feelings of my heart towards him and his officers, who not only behaved to me but to all my shipmates as gentlemen in every respect; they gave us all in their power to make us comfortable; but unfortunately owing to the number of people on board the *Alligator*, we were placed under the protection of Captain Boyle, on board His Majesty's schooner *Isabella*; who, I regret to say, behaved very indifferently towards us. Three days after we were brought from the shore, we were sent on board the *Isabella*; the very first night the Captain called us aft, and appointed us to regular watches; we told him we were not able to keep watch not being strong enough; we had no clothes and the weather was cold. He insisted on it, and in consequence of our refusing to do so, stopped our victuals. We then acquainted the purser of the man of war of the fact, to whom I shall always my most sincere thanks for

his goodness—he ordered us our rations, but Captain Boyle would not give them, though he promised he would do so—in fact he stinted us in everything that he could, and behaved to us more like a brute than a Christian.

I remain Sir

Your Obedient Servant

The Carpenter of the unfortunate *Harriett*.

[This Letter of Complaint, penned by the Carpenter of the *Harriett*, is here given, in order to place before the reader a defence of the action of the sailors from the charge made by Marshall in his "Personal Narrative" of the incident, published in 1836. At p. 157 that writer says:—

"But they were a base and selfish set of men, altogether unworthy such an act of private beneficence, as was some time afterwards seen in their refusal to take part in working the *Isabella*, where they were furnished with accomodation and food on their way home, *unless paid for doing so.*"

The fact, too, that the men left the *Isabella* at the Bay of Islands and went on board a whaler—the *Elizabeth*—and did not go on to Sydney, would indicate that dislike to something on the ship, rather than dislike of work, was the cause. The Author.]

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#### (4) PUBLIC APPEAL FOR MRS. GUARD.

To the Public.

The dreadful case of Mrs. Guard and her two infant children, who have been so providentially preserved amongst, and at last rescued from the cannibals of New Zealand, by whom they were seized and carried away, is already before the public, and has excited greater interest and a more general expression of sympathy than perhaps any case of distress and suffering upon record. indeed the case is happily without a parallel. At the time that Captain Guard had the misfortune to be wrecked upon the coast of New Zealand, in the barque *Harriett*, in which he was a shareholder and by which wreck, besides the personal

sufferings to which the survivors were exposed in common with the whole crew (of which twelve, including a brother of Mrs. Guard, were inhumanly butchered and eaten by the savages), Mr. Guard lost the whole of his property, which had been left him by the former wreck on the same coast of the schooner *Waterloo*, of which he was joint owner, in October 1833, the very hull of which vessel it may be remembered was burned by the natives.

The promptitude of His Excellency and the Colonial Government in despatching forces to New Zealand, and the gallantry of His Majesty's 50th, under the command of Captain Johnstone, and of the marine force under Captain Lambert, effectually seconding the local knowledge of Mr. Guard himself, are entitled to the highest praise and to the unbounded gratitude of the sufferers. These have rescued the captives from a situation more dreadful than was perhaps ever before known or heard of; and the public now appealed to will not be backward in displaying its sympathy and genuine commiseration; but impelled by every feeling of humanity as husbands or wives, as parents or as children and as Christians, the attention cannot be directed to the extraordinary case of poor Mr. and Mrs. Guard, and their two infants, without the heart being irresistibly impelled by every feeling honourable to human nature, to open wide the hand and extend substantial relief to the sufferers.

Had Providence seen fit to deprive these parties of the husband and father, the mother or the children, money indeed could not purchase their restoration; or even had they been shipwrecked without loss of property, it might be unfair to apply for pecuniary recompence; but this is a case in which a female and her children have been for months exposed to every conceivable horror—shipwrecked, seized and detained among savages—her husband and some of her companions effecting their escape, but twelve of them, including her brother, killed and eaten in her presence; and the husband a sober and industrious man, loses by the act of God many hundred pounds of property—

the whole of the hard earnings of many years—and though recovering his wife and children, finds himself with his family, rescued indeed from the jaws of death, but robbed of everything literally to their very skin, for the natives left them in a state of nudity.

To recompense the world after such losses and sufferings as these—to enable this family to preserve its energies and again exert them usefully, and it is hoped successfully, this appeal is made to all such as are blessed with hearts to commiserate such great and unparalleled distress.

Subscriptions are received at each of the Banks and at the office of the *Sydney Times*.

|                                      | £  | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Robert Campbell, junior, Esq. . .    | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Captain Collins . . . . .            | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. N. L. Kentish . . . . .          | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Mrs. Kentish . . . . .               | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| S. Smith, Esq. . . . .               | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Mr. Jones . . . . .                  | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Captain Irving . . . . .             | 2  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. Ferraby . . . . .                | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. Ross . . . . .                   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| The Commanding Officers and          |    |    |    |
| Crew of the <i>Joseph Weller</i> . . | 3  | 7  | 10 |
| A Friend of the Distressed . .       | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| W.F. . . . .                         | 0  | 7  | 0  |
| Follow my example . . . . .          | 0  | 10 | 6  |
| A Whaler . . . . .                   | 0  | 5  | 0  |
| N. & N.B. . . . .                    | 1  | 0  | 0  |

Liberal and Humane persons in the country are earnestly requested to make collections and forward their contributions to the "Times" Office.



## APPENDIX "D."

### THE MARY AND ELIZABETH PAPERS, 1834.

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#### WHALING ARTICLES.

Articles of Agreement made this thirty-first Day of March 1834 between James Kelly owner of the Brig *Mary and Elizabeth* of Hobart Town of the one part and the Several Subscribing Parties being Seamen and Whalers whose names are hereunto Subscribed of the other part Witnesseth

That the Subscribing parties agree with said James Kelly to proceed immediately in the Brig *Mary and Elizabeth* on her present Intended Whaling Voyage to the Coast of New Zealand or any other place Where Whales can be Caught for the purpose of procuring oil and Whale Bone for and in Consideration of the Specified Lay or Share of oil and Whale Bone as afixed opisite their Respective Names Which shall be a full Consideration for all Work or Services Done by them During the Voyage, and That they will Work and Navigate the said Brig from place to place as they may be Directed by the Master in Charge and faithfully do their Duty by Day or by Night in Boats or on Shore at any place the said Brig may touch at During the Voyage for the Benefit of all Concerned.

And James Kelly agrees to pay to Each officer and Seaman Signing this agreement at the Rate of Seven pounds ten shillings Pr ton for thair share of Good Marketable oil and Thirty five pounds Pr ton for thair share of Whale Bone after Deducting the Amount of Cash Slops and Tobacco that may have been advanced to the

Respective parties During the Voyage which sums shall be payment in full for all Labour or Work Done, and the Subscribing parties agree to Receive the Same in Lieu of any Wages or other Emolument whatever.

And the Subscribing parties further Bind themselves to said James Kelly, in the Event of any Neglect of Duty Disobedience of orders or Insubordination on board the said Brig, That they will forfeit to the said James Kelly the whole of their Lay or Share that may be Due to them, also forfeit all Claims or Right to any Remuneration or payment for the time they may have been Employed And James Kelly binds himself to furnish the parties with sufficient Provisions During the Voyage and should the Master in Charge think it Proper it is agreed the same shall be weighed out Daily or Weekly.

In Witness hereof the Parties have hereunto set their Signatures at Hobart Town in Van Diemens Land this Thirty first Day of March 1834.

Witness Present      JAMES KELLY.  
JAMES LUCAS.

| Names                            | Description     | Lay or Share     | Witness to Signature |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Hugh Forwood ...                 | Boatsteerer ... | Fortieth Lay ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| John Fitters ...                 | Seaman ...      | Fortieth Lay ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| James × Walker ...               | Seaman ...      | Fortieth Lay ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| George Edwards ...               | Do. ...         | Sixty Second ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| Zacharia <sup>h</sup> × Chaffery | Do. ...         | Sixty Second ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| William × Thomas                 | Boatsteerer ... | Fortieth Lay ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| George Smyth ...                 | Seaman ...      | Sixty Second Lay | Sophia Kelly         |
| William × Carroll ...            | Do. ...         | Sixty Fifth ...  | Sophia Kelly         |
| James × Phillips ...             | Do. ...         | Sixty Sixth Lay  | Sophia Kelly         |
| Rolr Conel ...                   | Do. ...         | Sixty Sixth Lay  | Sophia Kelly         |
| Chs. Knight ...                  | Seaman ...      | Sixtieth Lay ... | Sophia Kelly         |
| James × Saunders ...             | Do. ...         | Sixty Fifth ...  | Sophia Kelly         |
| George Manning ...               | Cook & Steward  | Sixtieth Lay ... | Robt. Jeffrie's      |

The × was in all cases accompanied by the words "his mark." [The Author.]

CORRESPONDENCE RE REGISTER.

Colonial Secretary's Office,  
24th September 1834

Sir,—

In reply to your letter of the 22nd instant representing the loss of your Brig's Register at New Zealand I am directed to inform you that directions have been given to the Customs to grant a new one after taking the necessary steps.

I am, Sir,  
Your very obedient Servant,  
JOHN MONTAGU.

James Kelly, Esq.

## APPENDIX "E."

### THE MARY MITCHELL LOG, 1836.

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JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN WHALER "MARY MITCHELL,"  
CAPTAIN SAMUEL JOY, WHILE AT ANCHOR IN CLOUDY  
BAY, DURING THE SEASON OF 1836.

*In the possession of the Nantucket Historical Society,  
Nantucket, Mass., U.S.A.*

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Chapter XI. gives full information of all references to American whalers. Other references are given at end of day's entry.

#### *Friday, 22nd April, 1836.*

Heavy S.E. gale bad Sea steered down past Cape Campbell looking for the harbor.\* At 5 saw it bearing N.W steered for it and at 6 happily came to an Anchor. thus after much toil fatigue and Labour we are happily Arrived at our port it now only remains for us to be thankful to God for his preservation and safe Guidance of us thro these dark times—I shall ever esteem it as a merciful interposition in my favor that thro divine Providence I have been enabled to conduct this ship thro this Passage on a Coast where I was an entire stranger in heavy weather without any person on board acquainted with it any more than myself and to the Lord be the Praise Amen Latter strong S.E. wind. Employed Clearing Ship Ther 58 Bar. 30.30.

#### *Saturday, 23rd April.*

fore part strong wind at S.E. employed Mooring Ship. Latter Continues S.E. wind. Broke up the hold Ther 56. Bar 30.20.

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\*Port Underwood.



*Sunday, 24th April.*

fore part fresh wind at S E Breaking up the hold for pipes Arrived *Jasper* and *Erie* Latter much rain till 7 then cloudy Employed usefully and Variously. Ther 56 Bar. 30.10.

*Monday, 25th April.*

Employed Setting up pipe shoaks moved the Cook house forward Latter fine Weather employed sending down yards and topmasts unbending Shoaks and other duty.

*Tuesday, 26th April.*

fine weather and pleasant one Whale seen to-day. Latter calm sent out 4 boats Whaling 6 hands on board Setting up pipes. Natives ashore building a house for us to Carpenter in caught a mess of fish. I this day witnessed the meeting of 2 Sisters Sometime separated their affection was evinced by the closeness of their embraces and Shedding tears abundantly on the whole the show a feeling for each other highly praiseworthy.

*Wednesday, 27th April.*

fore part calm at 4 boats returned not having seen any thing we employd the time till dark making lug sails for our boats which are needed here. started a cask of Bread in the Cabin Weighed out 12 Ounces to each man per day which is more than we have averaged since we left Home. I thought I would try them with less than a pound having as much meat as they could eat and Potatoes 3 times per Day and if they have more than they can eat they give it the Women.

Latter part cloudy overcast weather at 4 boats away after Whales employed as usual on board setting up shoaks others employed occasionally assisting coopers faszening up running rigs and fitting tackles for a spare boat. the natives occasionally on board with fish Turnips and other sauce their grand trade is for tobacco a head

of which with a pipe will buy fish enough to supply all hands at a meal—there appears to be 3 chiefs here and owing to the Conduct of others Preceding us I have made each of them a present—a bad rule but must be followed or their friendship lost—they are a set of great beggars and very importunate till they get what they want in fact there is no satisfying them without you comply, still they appear to be honest.

*Thursday, 28th April.*

Cloudy and overcast weather wind at South at 4 boats returned without Seeing anything except a Killer\*—we are however daily expecting them—there are 6 ships the other side we are alone here as I do not like much Company and a gang of men ashore the other side to carry on Whaling have run to Sell Which by keeping here we avoid having the trouble of. Latter thick weather much rain lay by nothing to do finding Some words about our house ashore I will detail it as it will give an idea of the dispositions of these natives—On our first arrival here I found it was the common practice for each Ship to have a house on shore to perform thier Coopering in as i preferred having that duty performed under my own inspection I did not care for having a house but on second thought when I reflected it was also needed for to mend boats under and the time taken for that was generally when the weather was stormy I concluded to have one it was told me by our toungeers that the cost was trifling and altogether at the option of a master What and how much be paid I therefore employd 2 chiefs living here to construct me one and they employed another who was father to one of them and thus I am in a fair way of having a house but to pay 3 people for it (the Principal Chief† is absent on one of his marauding traverses like the Ancient band Pirates and his authority delegated to 3 chiefs 1 on the western Shore the other 2 here) this morning I went on shore to see as to the house the Old

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\* A carnivorous whale which preys upon the right. † Te Rauparaha.

man began talking about his pay insisting (Indian like) on what he must have as I never employd him I was finally obliged to tell him he need not do anything more about it as i would not have it. this spread and I was immediately waited on by the 2 who begged me not to pay any regard to him this however did not satisfy me I told them as well as I could make myself understood that I would immediately take my ship to the other shore where I could be Supplied with What I wanted on more reasonable terms this seemed to excite their fears and they begged me not to and began to upbraid the old man calling him names even his own son reviling and in this temper I left them Came on board and despatched the boat the other side for a linguist our tounge (The Ships all employ Tonguers and it is a general custom I have acceded on the same terms as others) On his arrival we opened the Subject but they were ashamed and finally settled that they would build the house. I was to pay the 2 and on the same terms as the Agent of the shore party the other side and when I had done using the house the material I was to dispose of in any manner or way suited me but Indian Cunning was plainly to be seen and as far as regards White men I fear their honesty will prove Something Equivocal. I must not omit here Some mention of what are called tonguers. they are here 2 and 3 White people who have a boat and some natives on a Ship arriving they repair on board to solicit the Job for the ship The terms are that they occasionally furnish a crew to help tow whales they furnish a boats crew to help cut the whale in and do any talking for the captain whose ignorance of the language requires their aid in any matters with the natives. When the whale is cut in they are entitled to the carcass and the tongue which in plentiful Whaling is always left on the carcass and they contrive to get for 6 to 8 barrels of oil from each carcass but they are in general Blackguards and no dependence can be put in them—Runaways from Ships Mostly.

*Friday, 29th April.*

Commences with calm cloudy weather and much rain till 4 p.m. then cleared up partially with wind at N W We are out of the way and have no visiting from others and do not go ourselves but the otherside the river they are rather troubled with it latter part fresh N.W. Wind and clear dry weather all boats away and Coopers as usual setting up shoos myself and Steward rieving wind tackles and other Petty Jobs So Ends Brig sailed for Port Jackson.

*Saturday, 30th April.*

Fine weather at 4 boats returned saw nothing at 4 had a visit from Roabolla\* the head chief of this bay (Just returned from a marauding expedition) accompanied with the Customary demand of lay of tobacco muskets and cask of Powder Which I peremptorily denied this they returned with a threat I should not whale here to which I replied I was perfectly willing to go to sea for I would not submit to any imposition altho I would present them with the same the English ships and Parties did but no more and if they would not take that they should have nothing they finally consented to receive a dozen pipes 10 lbs tobacco and a piece of low priced calico of about 30 yards prised 17.4 and a tin Pot then dismissed them with a blessing he afterwards came and demanded supper which I of course declined furnishing him and bade him good bye there is no other way to deal with these people only to Be positive with them and let them know you do not fear them as if any timidity is shown they demand everything they See nor would the ship hold enough for them and the bad conduct of masters has encouraged them to be very importunate I am willing to allow a lone ship there not well armed might be obliged to comply with their requisitions but no excuse can be offered for any one to do so now as there are 7 Ships here all partially armed and shewed me 3 muskets given him

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\*Te Rauparaha.



by the Captains of Ships the other side to their shame be in spoken for if they only reflected they would know tis for the interest of these natives to keep on good terms with us as they know if Ships are hindered coming here adieu to their darling Tobacco Muskets and Pipes. I have adopted the line of conduct from my own convictions and the advice of the English Masters here who know them well Latter part strong N W wind Cloudy sent out 3 boats the other kept to do Some necessary duty on board I obtained altitudes by an artificial horizon determining the Latt. 41. 19.30.

*Sunday, 1st May.*

Commences strong winds Boats returned saw nothing. Cleared Hawse Pardoned Frederick Hesser for stealing old duck the first offence this voyage Latter calm arrived ship *Navy*—Neal of Newburyport sent out 3 boats went over to the other side to confer with the other captains. Relative to giving the chiefs such extra Presents they seemed to view the thing as I did one of them said by way of extenuation he had no pipes no tobacco in fact nothing but muskets but if he had not he could have got them at a trifling expense of us.

*Monday, 2nd May.*

Commences weather fine at 3 boats returned saw nothing this afternoon I saw with disgust the manner these Natives live or rather exist—in an enclosure containing 9 huts each of which had but one side and the two ends thatched the other side entirely open some facing one way some another to screen them from the wind in whatever direction it might blow. in one I observed 4 sows 2 with litters of Pigs 2 boars 5 dogs a bitch with 5 large pups Sucking, a woman asleep on a mat another seraping raw potatoes to boil another suckling a young child 2 other women sitting on a mat deliberately picking the vermin from their shoulder mats and the men nearly all asleep on the damp ground with nothing under them:

but their mats. Accordingly as might be expected tho inured to it from their infancy they all have a bad cold and accompanied with a cough such a miserable set of Natives I never before witnessed and to these disgraces of humanity we must pay tribute in shape of presents! Shame! Latter calm 3 boats out Arrived and anchored below Barque *Vermont* Poughkeepsie 600 Coopers Employed as usual Went on Shore and got 7 Altitudes to ascertain the Rate of the Chronometer.

*Tuesday, 3rd May.*

Commences with fine weather took up small boyer and Shifted the chain over end Latter heavy wind from S E Shackled the Chains together hove up best bower and ran it off 50 fathoms more to the N W thus spreading our Anchors N W and S E 60 fathoms each.

*Wednesday, 4th May.*

heavy wind at S E and Whirlwinds Cleared decks Setting up shooks went on shore with a boats crew and cut a load of wood which is quite handy here and as we can do nothing whaling think it best to cut our wood so that it will be ready when we want it Later moderate S S E wind and pleasant 2 boats out went on shore with the remainder to cut wood ends fine weather.

*Thursday, 5th May.*

Moderate wind and fair Weather at 4 boats returned having chased 2 whales all over the Bay 28 boats. at 5 returned from the Shore having cut and piled 3 loads wood Latter strong S S E wind sent out 3 boats Arrived ship *James Steward* St. Johns N B Gardner master 1 boats crew on shore Cutting wood. Coopers employed

*Friday, 6th May.*

fore part calm boats returned seen nothing today the Second Mate had his boat robbed in his absence of a bottle of rum, it being customary to carry it here so that in case of a hard drag to give it to the boats crew but they

will carry no more from this ship as I will turn it all into the sea first but the Second mate is no officer the fourth Mate is worse I can express my opinion of the others hereafter Latter calm I went out in the bay\* myself to look for whales and at Noon landed on the point with the intention of killing or maiming the first Blackguard who should dare to set his foot in my boat without my permission but altho I earnestly wished for an opportunity to have murdered one rascal no one was hardy enough to venture to do it perhaps they thought not but at least I did so

*Saturday, 7th May.*

Commences with fine weather at 4 boats returned at 6 heavy S. E. gale sent on shore 22 cedar boards Latter went out myself with 4 boats saw nothing wind blew up from S E heavy came into the Neek landed about 20 boats there and the most Blackguard language used from 5 english boats there Sparing no person at all in Short I hope I shall ever keep clear of English Ships again as they have no Authority.

*Sunday, 8th May.*

fore part heavy wind from S E and extreme heavy gusts took Spare boat on shore to mend and paint agreed between Captn Gardner and myself and the two Chiefs Charlie and White that for two Muskets we should have the use of the whole bay for wood Water and landing casks or other things and to keep all out of the bay we choose middle part heavy gale from S E dragd our Small bower home Latter heavy wind and Gusts real Whirlwinds taking the water up in eddies we kept dragging our small bower until we brought up to the best bower with 60 fathoms of each chain ahead the *James Steward* also fortunately for us drifted at the same time and brought up only clear of the rocks astern. Our small anchor although a fine looking one is not heavy enough to ride the Ship

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\*Cloudy Bay.

by and as soon as circumstances will allow I mean to get up the spare anchor which is very large and put it down in lieu of the One now down.

*Monday, 9th May.*

Commences with heavy gales squalls and much rain till 4 then rather more moderate run the kedg off 70 fathoms off the larboard bow the night set in with increasing wind again and heavy squalls with rain we are however in a safe port so far as regards life Latter squally rainy wind at S E cleared hawse and took up larboard anchor Streamed in the hawser and warped the ship in and let go the anchor again after getting up the large spare Anchor from below and bending the larboard chain to it, took the small anchor on the bow. this removing is a tedious job, an all days Job.

*Tuesday, 10th May.*

squally S S E wind finished removing Latter fine weather Sent out 3 boats Coopers employed finished 40 pipe Shooks

*Wednesday, 11th May.*

fine weather at 5 boats returned saw no whales at 6 arrived Ship *John Adams* Luce 100 bbls Latter fresh S W wind boats out Paid Old Blucher the Chief 100 heads tobacco for the house

*Thursday, 12th May.*

fresh S E wind at 4 boats returned The first Whale goot this Season today by Capt Sinclair Barque *Maria Ann* of Hobart town one other seen far off Latter part fine weather 3 boats out Went to the *Navy* with a sick man to the doctor Blacked the bends

*Friday, 13th May.*

fore part fresh winds at 4 boats returned another whale killed today by the shore party Latter fine weather 4 boats out



*Saturday, 14th May.*

fine weather at 4 boats returned 3 whales seen today One killed and sunk by Sinclair Latter fine weather went out myself with 4 boats in hopes to get some whale but see none

*Sunday, 15th May.*

fine weather at 5 boats returned Nothing seen Latter fine weather Went out with 5 boats the 2 first whales towed in this day

*Monday, 16th May.*

fore part strong N W wind at 5 boats returned, nothing seen Latter strong N W gale sent the boats out one soon returned stove having ran on a Rock took her in and commenced repairing her

*Tuesday, 17th May.*

Commences strong N W gale at 4 boats returned nothing seen Latter squally from N W sent 3 boats to the neck to look out but proving very squally at 11 they returned to Ship

*Wednesday, 18th May.*

heavy N W gales with extreme severe squally wind and rain with heavy gusts our anchor however held on at 6 less wind more rain Latter more moderate sent out 3 boats after whale and one on short to cut wood So ends

*Thursday, 19th May.*

fine weather at 4 boats returned nothing seen Latter calm boats out employd spare hand in repairing boat

*Friday, 20th May.*

fore part calm boats returned nothing seen Latter part fresh N W wind sent 2 boats for whales 1 to the Sound\* for 2 more men and kept one to mend boat

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\*Te Awaiti.

*Saturday, 21st May.*

fore part fresh N W wind boats returned, 2 whales seen and chased Latter fine weather 3 boats out one returned from the Sound\* with 2 men and 5 squawst a necessary evil

*Sunday, 22nd May.*

fore part fine weather at 4 the boats returned having seen and chased one whale at 6 arrived the *Tuscaloosa* Hussey of N Bedford 80 bbls 10 mo Latter part fine weather 5 boats out by means of 3 Mowrees

*Monday, 23rd May.*

fore part fine weather at 4 boats returned 5 whales 1 killed to the *Navy* hope we shall get one soon Latter fresh S SE wind out with 5 boats at 11 a raging S Easter glad to get home safe Arrived a Ship and Barque from Sidney the former bound for Banks Isld†

*Tuesday, 24th May.*

heavy S E gale with severe gusts 40 different ways sent 2 boats crews to cut wood latter continues heavy S E gale sent 2 boats to lookout and 2 boats on shore to cut wood

*Wednesday, 25th May.*

fore part more moderate at 6 calm Latter part fine weather went out with 5 boats

*Thursday, 26th May.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats returned 2 whales killed none for us Latter fine weather 5 boats out

*Friday, 27th May.*

fore part fresh S E wind at 4 boats returned 1 calf got today Latter part much fine rain went out with 4 boats the 4 mate a lame hand one of our steersman stopped to Save his oar and did not strike the whale O dear

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\*To Awaitei. †Maori women.  
‡Banks Peninsula.

*Saturday, 28th May.*

fore part calm at 5 boats returned 1 calf and one whale got today We now have hope hope I live in hope Latter part fine weather went out with 4 boats—Sick

*Sunday, 29th May.*

fore part fine weather Many whales seen today several struck 3 killed We killed one towed him within 6 miles and anchored him for the night Latter fine weather sent out 4 boats and went on to the hill saw the dead whale pointed the boats by smoke

*Monday, 30th May.*

Commences with fine weather at 6 boats got in with a dead whale picked up and supposed our whale was Sunk and not Risen Latter part fine weather sent out 3 boats after our whale cut in the other and went out found our whale 7 miles off but none the other boats in sight

*Tuesday, 31st May.*

fore part strong N W wind, could not tow our whale in began to boil at 7 our boats returned Latter part fresh N W gale went down to look at our whale saw him far off

*Wednesday, 1st June.*

fresh gales at N W too rough to go out Latter part moderate went out with 4 boats could not find our whale and thus we have lost all our anchors 2 lines and 6 irons

*Thursday, 2nd June.*

fine weather at 5 boats returned 1 got an anchor from an English ship for 40 lbs tobacco and a steering oar Latter fine weather went out with 4 boats and the Captain Got a large whale wafted and anchored him

*Friday, 3rd June.*

fine weather at 6 returned to the ship Latter strong S E gale went out to the Whale could do nothing returned Back

*Saturday, 4th June.*

fore part strong S E gale with much rain Arrived Ship *Franklin* of Nantucket Morton Master 22mo 200 bbls Latter thick rainy Weather light N W wind Went out with 5 boats Took our whale in at 12

*Sunday, 5th June.*

fore part much rain cut on our whale till 6 then Stopped Latter part cloudy cut in our whale and began to boil this is a Monstrous Whale 10 feet bone went out with 3 boats

*Monday, 6th June.*

fore part thick weather some fine rain employed boiling at 5 boats returned No whales seen today Latter fine weather Some fine rain sent out 3 boats the others boiling

*Tuesday, 7th June.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats returned saw 2 wild Whales Arrived Ship *Mississippi*\* American Ship *Benjamin Rush* and 2 Hobart town Barks Latter strong W N W wind sent out 3 boats finished boiling

*Wednesday, 8th June.*

fore part heavy N W Gale employed coopering at 6 boats returned saw one whale middle part heavy wind rain with thunder and lightning Latter rather more moderate sent out 3 boats at 12 hard rain

*Thursday, 9th June.*

fore part heavy N W rain at 3 boats returned nothing seen Latter part N W wind and rain 3 boats out

*Friday, 10th June.*

fore part hard rain wind at N W at 4 boats returned Latter bad rainy weather cleaned our bone sent out 3 boats

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\*French whaler, Rossiter, Captain.



*Saturday, 11th June.*

fresh N W wind squally at 5 boats returned no whales  
Latter much rain went out with 4 boats

*Sunday, 12th June.*

fore part rainy in squalls at 5 returned nothing seen  
Latter much rain went out 4 boats at 12 came back

*Monday, 13th June.*

fore part wind S E much rain Latter very rainy Went  
out with 4 boats nothing seen

*Tuesday, 14th June.*

fore part hard rain at 4 boats returned nothing seen  
Latter part more moderate went out with 4 boats

*Wednesday, 15th June.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats returned no whales  
at 6 Arrived ship *Elizabeth* of London 40 mo no oil gave  
certain News War with France and New York's being  
partly Burnt down Latter fine weather went out with 4  
boats

*Thursday, 16th June.*

fore part strong gale from N W at 5 boats returned  
except 2 Stopped on the bluff all night Latter strong  
N W gale employed Stowing the Main hold

*Friday, 17th June.*

fore part wind shifted suddenly to the S E boats come  
in Latter fine weather Went out with 4 boats

*Saturday, 18th June.*

fore part fine at 6 returned saw 3 Whales and 2 calves  
Latter fine Weather consorted with the *Vermont* went  
with 8 boats Killed a whale and began to tow him in

*Sunday, 19th June.*

fine weather at 5 got the whale to the ship Latter part  
sent out 3 boats and cut Our Whale

*Monday, 20th June.*

fore part cloudy began to boil at 5 boats returned got a Whale anchored him outside at 7 broke the cook's head for getting rum from the Shore contrary to law Latter part strong N W wind went out with 4 boats the others boiling

*Tuesday, 21st June.*

Strong N W wind at 4 got a whale into the *Vermont* Latter fresh S S W wind and rugd went out with 4 boats

*Wednesday, 22nd June.*

fore part strong S E wind at 6 boats returned Saw 2 whales Latter heavy S E gale stowed down in the main hold 2 boats to point

*Thursday, 23rd June.*

Strong gales till 6 then more moderate Latter strong Southerly gales and Rugd went out with 4 boats

*Friday, 24th June.*

Fore part continues strong gales struck a large Whale got 2 boats stove lost her at 5 got the boats in Latter a severe gale from S E with heavy gusts of wind and rain

*Saturday, 25th June.*

fore part heavy S E gale with extreme heavy gusts all round Latter part more moderate but rain

*Sunday, 26th June.*

Fore part strong winds from S E thick rainy weather this day I formally noted the different masters that I would not agree in case my boats were stove that I would give up my claim to any Whale obliged to cut from in consequence of being stove Latter more moderate Sent out 4 boats employd mending stoven boat

*Monday, 27th June.*

fore part moderate S E wind at 5 boats returned Latter fine weather Sent out 4 boats—Well since Sick

*Tuesday, 28th June.*

Fore part fine weather got a small whale took to the *Vermont* Latter part fine weather got another and did the same

*Wednesday, 29th June.*

fore part cloudy at 6 boats returned Latter moderate with rain Sent out 4 boats finished Mending Boats

*Thursday, 30th June.*

fore part a raging S Easter at 3 boats returned Latter Strong gales boats went to the neck and returned

*Friday, 1st July.*

fore part fresh wind from S E Latter more moderate Sent out 4 boats 4th mate sick

*Saturday, 2nd July.*

Fore part more moderate got a large Whale took to the *Vermont* Latter fresh westerly wind went out 4 boats.

*Sunday, 3rd July.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats returned no whale Latter clear and cold Send out 4 boats Well

*Monday, 4th July.*

Commences with fine weather at 4 boats brought a Small Whale cut her in Latter strong rugd wind sent out 4 boats Some ships firing guns keeping the day.\*

*Tuesday, 5th July.*

fore part strong winds at 4 three boats returned the 4th Mr Shaw not returned and no account of her since 12 this day—Latter moderate with heavy sea sent out 3 boats could not find any thing or learn any thing of the boat or crew am under much apprehension about them

*Wednesday, 6th July.*

fore part strong S E gale and very rugd boats returned no news of our boat sent a boat up the bay with 2 natives

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\* American Independence Day.

across land to see if they could discover any thing returned at night with no intelligence the latest account we can get is derived from the second mate of the *Vermont* who saw him about 12 yesterday off fighting Bay the second mate of the ship *Saml Robinson* also saw him down near this place can only hope that he is landed somewhere and detained by the Bad Weather Latter part heavy sea sent out 3 boats took a resident here and went up the head of the bay\* to cross to the Sound† to inquire for our absent boat's crew

*Thursday, 7th July.*

fore part S E wind boats returned we can as yet gather no news of our missing boat I returned from up bay at 4 having been over to the sound but no conveyance being had to cross it I sent the man accompanied by Capt Topham of the *Vermont* to travel over the ridge down to the settlement Latter part more moderate went up bay sent out 3 boats

*Friday, 8th July.*

Commences with strong winds from S E at 4 returned from the bay with the agreeable intelligence that our missing boat being safe at the Sound† after much difficulty in Getting there Latter part more moderate sent out 3 boats.

*Saturday, 9th July.*

Commences with calm and fine weather at 4 boats returned 1 whale seen to day Our boat not returned from the sound yet Latter fine Weather sent out 3 boats

*Sunday, 10th July.*

fore part moderate N W wind at 4 boats returned and our boat also from the Sound† Latter fine weather sent out 3 boats employed boiling struck a Whale        drew the iron

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\*Port Underwood.

†Tory Channel.



*Monday, 11th July.*

fore part commenced S E gale finished boiling at 3 boats returned Latter fresh gales from S E 3 boats at the neck Some fine rain No whales as yet

*Tuesday, 12th July.*

Commences with strong S E gale at 1 boats returned John Wood left ship without leave got drunk I flogged him and put him in irons Latter raining let the prisoner out of irons on promise of amendment

*Wednesday, 13th July.*

Rain with S E wind Arrived *Roslin Castle* Sidney the man who steals men out of boats and ships and whose name is Richards Latter part fine weather went out with 4 boats got a whale and a boat stove of the *Vermont*

*Thursday, 14th July.*

Took a small whale alongside at 6 fine rain and a Kanaka drunk flog him—Latter sent out 4 boats and cut in our whale 4th mate sick

*Friday, 15th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 5 boats returned with a large Whale latter fine weather cut in our whale sent out 3 boats 3 men sick

*Saturday, 16th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 5 boats returned no Whales commenced boiling Latter sent out 3 boats

*Sunday, 17th July.*

Commences with fine weather still boiling at 5 boats returned Latter fine weather sent out 3 boats still boiling

*Monday, 18th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 5 boats returned finished boiling sent out the latter part 3 boats had to stop one to copper oil and We have 4 sick mostly (indistinct)

*Tuesday, 19th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 5 boats returned no whales  
Latter fine weather sent out 4 boats 4th mate Sick

*Wednesday, 20th July.*

fore part cloudy got one Whale and took to the  
*Vermont* Latter calm with much rain no boats out

*Thursday, 21st July.*

fore continual rain light S E wind Latter heavy S E  
gales Employd stowing down Main hold still sick

*Friday, 22nd July.*

heavy Gales from S E with severe squalls at 4 finished  
Stowing down We want 25 bls more in Main hold Latter  
part fine weather sent out 4 boats

*Saturday, 23rd July.*

fore part S E wind at 4 boats returned saw no whales  
Latter fresh S W wind struck and got a whale took to  
the *Vermont*

*Sunday, 24th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 6 boats returning latter clear  
calm and cold Sent out 4 boats filled 150 bls water  
Lawson sick

*Monday, 25th July.*

fore part heavy S E gale boats in I cannot well leave  
the Ship in charge of the 4th mate he can do nothing in  
the boat and has been Sick and dozey  $\frac{1}{2}$  the time we  
have been here this last 7 days I sent out 2 boatsteerers  
in the Starbd boat Latter part fresh S E wind 4 boats out

*Tuesday, 26th July.*

fore part fresh S E gale at 4 boats Returned Latter  
fresh S E Wind 4 boats out employd for ship Cutting  
wood

*Wednesday, 27th July.*

fore part S E wind at 4 boats in Latter sent out 4  
boats

*Thursday, 28th July.*

fore part S E wind at 4 boats in no Whales I am sick of this Latter fine weather 4 boats out sent out Jib Boam

*Friday, 29th July.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats in no whales other ships got 4 to day We none Latter fine Weather 4 boats out

*Saturday, 30th July.*

fore part fine Weather at 6 boats returned 1 boat stopd all night on the Bluff a small whale came in the harbor I went off and help Get her Latter fine weather 4 boats out a whale close in to the ship before day down Spare boat could not catch him

*Sunday, 31st July.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats in got a small Whale our boat at the bluff came back lost a native of Tahiti Who absconded latter fine weather 4 boats out

*Monday, 1st August.*

fore part got another whale Took them both in and cut in one Latter fine weather sent out 4 boats

*Tuesday 2nd August.*

Commences fine weather at 4 boats returned got a small whale to the *Vermont* one boat on the bluff all night Arrived the ship *Warren*, *Mayhew* all full from Banks Island\* Latter fine weather empld boiling 3 boats out.

*Wednesday, 3rd August.*

fine weather at 4 returned no Whales got 2 tons potatoes Latter fine weather 3 boats out still boiling

*Thursday, 4th August.*

fine weather at 4 boats returned finished boiling Latter 4 boats out employed coopering with sick hands

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\*Banks Peninsula.

*Friday, 5th August.*

fore part thick cloudy weather at 5 boats returned no whales Latter fine weather sent out 4 boats stowed off main hold

*Saturday, 6th August.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats in no whales Latter fine weather 4 boats out no whales

*Sunday, 7th August.*

fore part fine weather wind N W at 5 boats in chased a humpback Latter raining sent out 4 boats

*Monday, 8th August.*

fore part thick cloudy weather at 5 boats in at 6 hard rain Latter part heavy S E gale sent 3 boats to the neck and went over to the Bay myself on Business

*Tuesday, 9th August.*

fore part fresh S E gale heavy squalls boats returned I also and found 4th mate had written a letter dated 31st July to John Guard\* requesting the employ in his service as a boat headsman the said 4th mate having a difference with some of the crew requested his discharge yesterday thus shipping in one employ while belonging to another the poor miserable creature has been nearly useless all this voyage and I should be glad to get clear of him and mean to Latter more moderate sent out 3 boats 3 men sick somehow or other

*Wednesday, 10th August.*

fore part fine weather very rugd at 4 S E gale boats in no whales Latter part more moderate sent out 4 boats 4th mate Went off himself to Cockapoo† a good riddance

*Thursday, 11th August.*

fore part commenced S E gale at 4 boats in Latter fresh N W wind 4 boats out Mr Lawson not shown himself yet

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\*Of Kekapo.

†John Guard's station.



*Friday, 12th August.*

fore part fresh wind from N W at 5 boats returned  
Latter more moderate 4 boats out Mr Lawson returned  
at 12 S E gale

*Saturday, 13th August.*

fore part strong S E gale at 2 boats in Latter fine  
weather 4 boats out at 11 one boat returned stove fur-  
nished another and sent him out discharged Mr Lawson  
So ends

*Sunday, 14th August.*

fore part fine weather at 4 boats returned having  
Anchored 2 Whales one of which the *John Adams* pretend  
a claim agreed to refer it to three men Latter fine weather  
Sent out 4 boats Employd on board mending a boat  
Referees also met to decide to whom the Whale belonged

*Monday, 15th August.*

fore part fine weather finished mending the boat the  
referees decided the whale belongs to us at 4 boats  
returned one Whale towed within 3 miles the other sunk  
and not seen today Latter fine weather Sent out 4 boats  
employd mending the stove boat a bad boil on my right  
hand

*Tuesday, 16th August.*

fore part fine weather at 4 got our whale in began to  
cut at 7 finished Latter fine weather sent out 3 boats  
boiling

*Wednesday, 17th August.*

fore part fine Weather at 5 boats in still boiling arrived  
a Brig from Sidney Latter fine weather 3 boats out one  
boiling

*Thursday, 18th August.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats in at 7 finished boiling  
Latter fine weather Sent out 4 boats finished mending  
boat

*Friday, 19th August.*

Commences good weather at 5 boats in with S E wind Latter sent out 3 boats kept one to stow down in after hold

*Saturday, 20th August.*

fore part S E wind boats returned finished stowing down Reed of Wm Mayhew power to demand *Friendship* boat of Johnny Bolts\* at the Sound Latter some rain sent out 3 boats kept one boat to clean bone. At 12 boats returned

*Sunday, 21st August.*

fore part fresh S E gale employd stowing off after hold Latter part more moderate Sent out 4 boats

*Monday, 22nd August.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats returned with a scragg and of course a stove boat Latter fresh N W wind sent out 4 boats Employed mending the stove boat Sailed *Vermont* and *Warren*

*Tuesday, 23rd August.*

Commences fresh N W Wind at 4 boats in cut in our scragg finished mending boat Latter strong N W wind did not send out boats took a raft of water and two loads wood

*Wednesday, 24th August.*

fore part strong N W wind employed stowing the hold with water Shipped Alexander McNeil Latter fine weather 3 boats out

*Thursday, 25th August.*

fore part S E wind (indistinct) away fore hold Latter fine weather Sent out 3 boats

*Friday, 26th August.*

fore part S E wind took raft to the other side for water Latter strong N W wind sent out 3 boats & filling water

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\*George Thoms, Te Awaitei.

*Saturday, 27th August.*

fore part fresh N W wind got off all our water at 5 boats returned Latter strong N W wind 2 boats sent out the others sent up mizzen topmasts mated with *South Boston* Butler

*Sunday, 28th August.*

fore part strong N W gale sent up fore and main topmasts Latter strong N W Gale sent out 4 boats got of 3 loads wood

*Monday, 29th August.*

fore part thick N W wind took a small whale another to *South Boston* Anchored another Outside Latter calm much rain sent out 4 boats

*Tuesday, 30th August.*

fore part much rain got another Small whale took him to the Ship and cut in the first one Latter fresh N W wind Sent out 3 boats cut in the other whale and began to boil. Shiped J. Gardner.

*Wednesday, 31st August.*

fore part moderate N W wind employd boiling at 5 boats in Latter strong N W gale and squally stili boiling 3 boats out

*Thursday, 1st September.*

fore part more moderate still boiling at 5 boats in I have been sick with dysentry 5 days Latter calm with much rain finished boiling Sent out 4 boats I feel better today

*Friday, 2nd September.*

fore part much rain at 4 boats in Latter thick and raining Sent out 4 boats

*Saturday, 3rd September.*

thick cloudy weather at 5 boats in Whales got every day We get none Latter 4 boats out to get nothing

*Sunday, 4th September.*

fore part foggy boats in No whales latter foggy 4 boats out I am quite sick again

*Monday, 5th September.*

fore part calm at 4 a stoven boat in, and Badly stove and half a whale only to pay for it between two of us Latter fresh N W wind sent out 4 boats employd Mending Boat Our whale sunk the *Benjamin Rush* sailed

*Tuesday, 6th September.*

fore part fresh N W wind at 6 Boats returned Latter heavy N W wind 4 boats out

*Wednesday, 7th September.*

fore part thick weather and heavy N W wind at 5 boats in Could not tow in the whale Latter more moderate Sent out 4 boats finished mending the Boat

*Thursday, 8th September.*

fore part moderate towed our whale in to the *S Boston* Later fine weather killed 1 whale she sunk towed in a calf

*Friday, 9th September.*

fore part moderate S E wind sent up fore & main top sail yards Latter S E wind towed in our whale began to cut Shipped Old Harris

*Saturday, 10th September.*

Commences fresh S E wind at 6 finished Cutting Latter fresh S E wind 3 boats out employd Boiling

*Sunday, 11th September.*

fore part strong S E wind at 4 boats in Latter part fine weather 3 boats out employd Boiling Tom Otaheite put away

*Monday, 12th September.*

fore part fine weather at 5 boats in finished boiling Latter part fine weather 3 boats out killed 2 whales anchored one sunk—the other sunk no line to her also got a Boat stove



*Tuesday, 13th September.*

fore part fresh N W wind Broke out starbd fore hold  
Latter a raging S E gale employed stowing down oil

*Wednesday, 14th September.*

fore part heavy S E gale finished stowing down Latter  
more moderate sent out 3 boats employd mending stoven  
boat

*Thursday, 15th September.*

fore part fine weather towed in one whale anchored  
the other Latter fine weather 3 boats out Employed  
Blacking bends

*Friday, 16th September.*

fore part fresh N W wind towed in our other whale  
took to the *South Boston* the *Tuscaloosa* sailed Latter  
cloudy Sent out 2 boats

*Saturday, 17th September.*

fore part calm with much fine rain Latter part the  
same kind of weather and nothing to be done

*Sunday, 18th September.*

Commences fresh S E wind and much rain arrived  
Barque *Australia* from Coopers Harbor\* 400 bbls in want  
of men Latter fine weather Sent out 2 boats and one to  
River

*Monday, 19th September.*

fore part fine weather at 4 boats in no whales bent  
main and mizzen topsails Latter fine weather taking off  
wood and water and getting ready for Sea got a small  
Raft Water

*Tuesday, 20th September.*

fore part fine weather finished bending sails Latter  
part N W wind Cleard Hawse and took up Larboard  
Anchor

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\*Port Cooper.

*Wednesday, 21st September.*

fore part fresh wind got ready for the stream our boat returned from the river lost their raft of Spars Middle part wind struck heavy from the S E called all hands Streamed kedge warped ship to S E let go best bower Sailed ship *John Adams* Latter heavy gale from S E warped still further to S E

*Thursday, 22nd September.*

fore part S E gale and heavy gusts dragged big anchor like to get foul of *James Steward* streamer kedge and hawser to S W blew extreme heavy in gusts every way a ship and brig came in at 7 wind rather moderated Latter calm employed getting unmoored discharged Old Harris

*Thursday, 23rd September.*

fore part fine weather at 3 got under weigh and ran off in the stream came too in 8 fathoms Calm getting fitted for sea, getting of Potatoes and other jobs

*Friday, 24th September.*

Commences N W wind employd painting boats and coiling lines Latter fine weather fitting ship and painting boats

*Sunday, 25th September.*

fore part fresh N W gale still employed usefully Latter strong N W gale employed variously sent up top gt yard

*Monday, 26th September.*

fore part strong N W wind lying at anchor Latter strong N W gale employd fitting our boats.

*Tuesday, 27th September.*

fore part heavy gale from N N W at 6 veered to W N W Latter fresh N N W wind at 6 up anchor and steered out at 12 Cape Campbell bore S dist 10 miles our Latt 41° 46' Stowed anchors and cables the *Erie* and *South Boston* in company

[Logs of other American vessels, while bay whaling in Cloudy Bay, are to be found in New Bedford, Mass., U.S.A., as follows:—

1. Of the *Tuscaloosa*, during the seasons of 1836 and 1837, in the Public Library.
2. Of the *Jasper*, during the season of 1836, in the Dartmouth Historical Society's Rooms. The Author.]

APPENDIX "F."

THE ENDERBY RECORDS, 1838.

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JOURNAL OF MESSRS. ENDERBY'S SCHOONER "ELIZA SCOTT,"  
CAPTAIN JOHN BALLENY, WHILE AT ANCHOR IN CHALKY  
INLET AND AFTER LEAVING THAT PORT.

*In the possession of the Royal Geographical Society,  
London.*

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References are given at end of day's entry.  
Spelling of original is retained, but not punctuation or capitals.

*Sunday, December, 2nd, 1838.*

The wind this mornng is fresh with clear fine sky. Running or rather endeavourg to run on the parallel of yesterday. Lat. at noon this day  $45^{\circ} 57'$ . P.M. Steady and clear to the end.

*December, 3rd.*

Steady breeze and cloudy. Unstowed the anchors and bent cables. Lat. at noon  $45^{\circ} 57'$ . At 4 p.m. saw the land which I took for Port Pickersgill.\* At 7 abreast of Cape West. Blowing hard at N.W. At 8h 30m entered Chalky Bay and beat up with strong wind down and a dirty night; turned past Port Chalky in the dark and had to lay to at the head of the Bay till day light. Blowg hard with heavy squalls from the N.W. I am very glad I misssd the entrance to Port Chalky for it is foul and one large rock just visible at high water in the middle.

*December, 4th.*

At day light mornng ran down the Bay into Port Chalky when I saw with infinite delight the cutter all

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\*Dusky Sound

safe and sound. Rounded too and let go the anchor  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. Blowg a gale right in, gave the vessel 50 fathoms of cable. At 4 p.m. the wind suddenly shifted and blew from the opposite point and I now found that I had anchored close to a reef of rocks and the first intimation I had was the ship lightly touching as she swung. Run a kedge out, hove up the anchor and shifted her birth. Latter part light winds and heavy rain. Sounded the pumps but found she had not injured herself at all.

*December, 5th.*

At day light weighed and towed the ship up to the head of the harbour and brought up in 13 fathoms. Landed some water casks and gave the people the remainder of the day to wash clothes.

*December, 6th.*

Dull weather with rain, clearg hold &c. &c.. On the passage out my barometer was broken & I endeavoured to take observations by the mountain barometer, but I do not think it will be of any service at all at sea as the slightest motion of the vessel causes the quicksilver to jump up and down at such a rate that I was afraid it would break the tube. I was glad to put it away. Yesterday I hung it up again and this mornig took the first observation, but even the little motion the vessel has here causes a slight rise and fall in the mercury.

*December, 7th.*

The weather this mornig is showery with sometimes blue sky. The crew occupied in breaking out & restowg the hold.

*December, 8th.*

Moderate with passing showers. Fillg casks with salt. Send 2nd offiicer\* away at day light to catch a few fish to help our beef for on examination I find we have not more beef & pork than will last for 10 months that is 5

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\*Mr. McNab.



months longer; no cask running the weight it ought to do. I find the cutter\* in the same predicament.

*December, 9th.*

This day is fine. Gave the men 4 muskets and let them go into the woods to shoot and stretch their legs. Having no means of obtaining fresh provisions but by the hook and gun Capt Freeman† and myself have generally endeavoured to provide for part of the crew, and I think a run on shore will do the men good, in point of fact the whole crew seem so disappointed in not being able to run as they expected that they are in a state little short of down right mutiny. Therefore I have allowed them to go and ramble in the woods but have always refused the boats unless with an officer.

*December, 10th.*

This morn'g Capt Freeman and myself went on shore to take lunar observations, and also to take sights for the chronometers. Mr. Freeman measured the dist. of the O & ) and I took the altitudes of the Sun and moon by the artificial horizon. I then measured the distance & Mr F. took the altitudes of O & ) The first gave the place of observation  $166^{\circ} 11' 45$  east. My observed dist. &c. gave  $167^{\circ} 23' 00$ . My chronometer gave the same taking the mean of seven sights at different times the greatest of which gave  $167^{\circ} 24$  and the least  $167^{\circ} 22' 45$ . Another lunar gave  $167^{\circ} 23' 00$ . My chronometer gave me the Island of Amsterdam correctly enough but Mr. Mc Cabe's was out considerably, on making Cape West on 3 inst. at 4 p.m. the long. by chronometer gave the ship 17 miles east of the Cape and we ran nearly due east 32 miles per log, which, if my chronometer was correct, would give Cape West in about  $167^{\circ} 13$  (42 miles to a degree of long.). Port Chalky bears about true N.W. from Cape West dist. abt. 10 miles which 10 miles of dist gives in lat.  $46^{\circ}$  about 10 miles of diff. long. making

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\*The *Sabrina*.

†Of the *Sabrina*.

Port Chalky  $167^{\circ} 23'$  or if the Cape be rightly laid down then is my chronometer so much too far eastward. Capt. Washington of the Royal Navy requested me to give the hight of a mountain on Cape West and also one on Point Civil; there is not a mountain on either. Cape West is low and runs with a gradual ascent into the mountains many miles back. I suppose 40 or 50 miles so that I cannot comply with Capt W's request. The Northern Port is by far the best of the two being completely land-locked but in the present state of the country I should think it would be seldom used as it is further up the bay and unless for the purpose of gettg supplies (which is out of the question there being neither natives nor settlers) Port Chalky is high enough. I do not think either natives or settlers could live any great time in this part from the myriads of poisonous flies in the summer and the cold in the winter. We have seen some marks of visitors but whether natives or whites for the bay fishery (I should suppose the latter) I do not know. I do not think the land or any part of it in this neighbourhood deserves exactly the name of mountains but are high hills & so close together and so abrupt the rise that it makes them look higher than they would do if scattered over the face of the country and the ascent more gradual.

*December, 11th.*

We have the crew employed in restowg the hold &c. &c. but scarce a day passes without rain so that it impedes our progress greatly.

*December, 12th.*

Still stowg the hold. The hold full of flies and the whole of us much distressed by them, the fasten on us with such fury and fly into the nose mouth and ears; the itching they leave is positively enough to drive one mad.

*December, 13th.*

Crew busy stowg water & went with a couple of hands to catch fish but had bad luck.

*December, 14th.*

This mornig took the boat and sailed up 'Edwardson's Arm'\* to the source at the top it forms two of the finest harbours in the world, the first or outer harbour being completely land locked from the Bay and the inner harbour land locked or nearly so from the outer harbour fine beaches and plenty of fresh water, but flies innumerable Shot 15 birds of size large enough to supply the two cabins for 3 days.

*December, 15th.*

This morg is rainy and windy so that we can get nothing done; it is a perfect deluge.

*December, 16th.*

The fore part of this day was fine. People employed watering and stwg &c. &c. Latter part rainy.

*December, 17th.*

Monday morg commences with cloudy rainy weather, with light & variable winds; In the afternoon saw a whale boat sailg up the harbour for which I was extremely sorry as it will afford an opportunity for the men to run, it proved to be a boat from the settlement† in Preservation Bay.

*December, 18th.*

This morning being fine cut some spars and in the afternoon Mr Freeman and myself went round to Preservation Bay and took a cask for oil, both vessels being out of that article. We could not find the settlement but found an old one deserted. This eveng I desired Mr Freeman ot keep my boat alongside of the cutter‡ as I considered her safer there, the crew of the cutter being apparently perfectly contented and a good watch being kept at about midnight all was right and safe. I did not sleep before that hour.

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\*Chalky Sound.‡The *Sabrina*.

†Jones' Whaling Station.

December, 19th.

This morn at daylight I awoke and on going on deck missed the whale boat from the cutter, and I then found that 5 men belonging to the *Eliza Scott* had gone to the cutter, and evidently with the connivance of the watch on board the cutter, stolen the boat and made off. Thinking they might make for the Settlement in Preservation Bay Capt Freeman and self again started to find it; we were successful as far as getting a supply of oil &c from the party but could hear nothing of the crew. This is a serious loss but as the rest of the crew seem perfectly content and willing to try their luck I still do not despair, indeed the remaining crew seem glad these people have gone and they all say they will now be comfortable. Two of these men were certainly two of the greatest blackguards I ever had on board a ship and I had a great deal of trouble with them on the passage out; more mutinous rascals could not be, & they have, I think, seduced two of the others from their duty. As for the 3rd. he had been much in Sydney and perhaps was the ringleader of the whole. I deplore now more than ever my long passage out as I might perchance have saved them altho' I am aware it was their intention to run when they shipped, but I could not carry sail on the schooner and on unstowing the vessel here I found a sufficient reason. The ground tier of casks which should have been filled with water were perfectly empty and it becomes no longer a matter of wonder the ship would not bear her canvass, but a matter of wonder she got here at all; On enquiry into the cause of the casks being empty the mate says he thinks they were not filled in London and lays all blame on Capt Shuttlesworth with what truth I know not as all this was done before I gained the schooner,\* when the mate informed me that the ground tier consisted of oily casks filled with water out of the canal.

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\*The *Eliza Scott*.

*December, 20th.*

This morn'g is tolerably fine. People employed middle stitching the mainsail, wooding &c. &c. carpenter & cooper cutting spars for topsail yard & main topmast, & in getting ready for sea.

*December, 21st.*

The whole of this day the weather has been squally with showers. People employed in repairing sails.

*December, 22nd.*

The weather this morn'g is showery employed in mending sails & wooding and watering.

*December, 23rd.*

This morn'g is fine Capt Freeman went round with boat to Preservation Bay for some articles we want. At noon a strong breeze, at 7 Mr Freeman returned, the night is setting in for heavy rain.

*December, 24th.*

The morn'g blowg strong ship drove, let go 2nd anchor. At noon more moderate, hove up the anchors and warped further off shore.

*December, 25th.*

This is Christmas Day & blowg hard. I dined this day with Mr Freeman on board the cutter & gave his mates leave to dine on board the schooner. I told Mr Moore, my chief mate, that I laid no embargo on his grog drinking on this day only to remember and keep within the bounds of moderation. At 10 I returned on board and the only one sober was my 2nd. mate Mr McNab. About 2 o'clock it blew so hard that both vessels drove & had to let go the 2nd. anchor. The mate still that stupid that I could not get him out of his bed.

*December, 26th.*

Still blowg a gale of wind with heavy rain. Getting the sails bent for sea. The mate appears not to have



gotten the better of his intemperance and has been exceedg impertinent so much so that I am inclined to turn him forward.

This is not the first time or act of intemperance and impudence. It is now become almost time to put an end to it. From his conduct I am more than ever convinced he was accessory to the departure of the men and boat & is, I think, endeavourg to sow the seeds of dissention amongst the people.

The mountain barometer is of no use when there is any motion. The mercury flies up and down the tube according to the motion of the ship. It is perfectly fast and steady against the bulkhead but the slightest motion of the vessel precludes taking observations with it at such times. Consequently at sea where the motion is constant the quicksilver also is in constant motion. I am sorry for this for I wished to gratify Capt Washington, if in my power.

*December, 27th.*

This morning the gale continues unabated with heavy rain. All ready for sea.

*December, 28th.*

Still blowg so hard that one cannot get under weigh. Crew employed in various ways.

*December, 29th.*

Still blowing hard. Everything ready for weighing as soon as it lulls a little. We must ride close to the shore on account of the water & consequently are too near to get the anchor with the wind on the land. Tide flows 11 o'clock full & change of  $\mathcal{U}$  & rises about 6 feet.

*December, 30th.*

At daylight warped the *Sabrina* into a fair way. At 10 a.m. got under weigh and turned out of Port Chalky At 4 p.m. came to an anchor in Preservation Bay. Got more, wood, water. & boat from Settlement.\*

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\*Jones' Whaling Station.

*December, 31st.*

Blowg hard squalls so as to render it imprudent to proceed.

*January, 1st., 1839.*

No wind, ship all ready for sea.

*January, 2nd.*

At daylight blowg hard & fair wind with heavy rain weighed from Preservation Bay at 11 a.m. Solanders Island abeam of us at 9 p.m. came to an anchor in Pattersons River,\* blowg hard from the S.W. I anchored here in order to get the clothes of the people I shipped in Preservation.

*January, 3rd.*

It has blown a perfect hurricane ever since we anchored and still continues.

*January, 4th.*

This morn blowg and raing very hard. Signals of distress flying on board the cutter;† went on board & found 3 men had deserted. Went on shore and took steps for their recovery. At 8 p.m. got them on board and all ready for sea.

*January, 5th.*

Blowg a perfect drift of wind all day.

*January, 6th.*

At daylight attempted to weigh but it blew so hard we had to abandon the attempt.

*January, 7th.*

Light wind and shifted to N.E. Got under weigh and turned out from the Islands. At noon running to the S.E. Blowing hard. At 4 p.m. doubled reefed. Lat.

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\*Stewart Island.

†Sabrina.

*January, 8th.*

Rainy & moderate. Wind flew round to S.W. At noon lat. observed  $49^{\circ} 28'$  S. long.  $169^{\circ} 22'$  E.

*January, 9th.*

This morning commences with strong winds and clear. At 8 double reefed. At noon lat. observed  $51^{\circ} 16'$  South. P.M. squally with heavy cross sea. At 4 p.m. long. in  $168^{\circ} 56' 30''$ .

*January, 10th.*

Light winds and clear. Saw the Island of Campbell's at 8 a.m., long.  $168^{\circ} 55' 45''$ , noon Lat.  $52^{\circ} 26'$  South. At 2 p.m. Mr Freeman pulled to the land to try for a few skins, found none, but found 4 men who had been left 4 years ago in a most wretched plight. At 7 Mr Freeman returned. Stood off. At midnight strong winds with rain and thick.

*January, 11th.*

Still dirty weather. At 8 a.m. cleared off, saw the land bearing S. by W. At noon lat. observed  $52^{\circ} 30'$ . At 7 p.m. came to an anchor in Preservation Harbour.

*January, 12th.*

At daylight sent a boat from each vessel to see what they could pick up. Capt. Freeman & myself went on shore and spoke to the people. It appears they have, in 4 years only obtained about 170 skins. I have agreed to take them off the Island on condition that the skins are the property of the owners of the vessels, to be delivered up to them in London on receiving ten shillings a piece for good prime skins and others in proportion. I have further agreed to give the 180 lay to these men for whatever may hereafter be obtained but no wages. In doing this I have been guided by a wish to relieve the wretched and to attend to the interest of my employers at the same time, and I trust the transaction may be viewed in this light. At 7 p.m. boat returned, got nothing. Filled up water and all ready for sea.

*January, 13th.*

Blowg hard from the Eastward:—

Copy of Agreement for the skins obtained on Campbells Island.

It is hereby agreed between  
on the one part and John Balleny of the schooner *Eliza Scott* on behalf of his owners on the other part that on condition of removg from  
Campbells Island and paying to them in London ten shillings for every prime skin delivered and others in proportion they abandon all claim to the skins now on board in favour of Messrs Enderby and others owners of the schooner *Eliza Scott* & tender *Sabrina*. It is further agreed that for the cargo yet to be obtained that the sd.  
shall have the one hundred  
and eightyith share without any monthly wages and it is further agreed that Messrs Enderby shall deduct from the price of the skins the amt of all slops &c advanced by Capt. Balleny to  
Preservation Harbour

Campbell Island Jany 14th, 1839.

*January, 14th.*

S.E. (wind) Blowing a perfect gale so that we are better here than outside.

*January, 15th.*

Variable (wind) Blowing hard, the cutter got under weigh but could make nothing of it and brought up again.

*January, 16th.*

Variable. Blowed hard with heavy rain and thick weather. P.M. more moderate, saw a boat, the boat belonged the *Emma* of Sidney Capt. Biscoe.\* This is rather a curious rencontre. Went on board the *Emma* & I find Capt Biscoe is in search of land as well as ourselves.

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\*The commander of the former Enderby expedition, 1831.

*January, 17th.*

This morn weighed and made sail from Preservation Harbour. The *Emma* could not get under weigh it blew so hard and riding with 2 anchors at noon. Lat.  $52^{\circ} 46'$  S. Dark and cloudy to the end. Either Cape West is laid down wrong or Campbells Island. My chronometer by the old rate from Greenh. gives the long. of Campbells Island very nearly and is rather east of the assigned long. whereas the rate given the chronometer by me in Port Chalky taking it for granted that Cape West is right, gives the centre of Campbells Island  $168^{\circ} 58'$  which is  $34'$  West of the given longitude.

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EXTRACT FROM THE LOG OF THE SCHOONER "ELIZA SCOTT,"  
CAPTAIN JOHN BALLENY, ON HER WAY FROM LONDON  
TOWARDS NEW ZEALAND.

*[Supposed to have been kept by the Chief Mate.]*

*In the possession of the Royal Geographical Society,  
London.*

*Monday, December 3rd, 1838.*

Steady breezes and cloudy: Longe by Chror.  $164^{\circ} .49'$  .0" E Got the Anchors unstowed and bent the Cables: Latit Obs  $45^{\circ} 57'$  South. at 4 P.M. Saw the land: at 7 abreast of Cape West: at 8 Rounded Chalky Island point and beat up to the Cascade and hove too for Daylight.

*December 4th.*

At Daylight wore Ship. at 8 Came to an anchor in port Chalky in 15 fathoms, when we found the Cutter who had been in 3 Weeks.

*December 5th.*

Strong Gales with rain, struck foretop mast and sent down topsail and foreyards, Got under weigh and towed up to the head of the port.



*December 6th.*

Moderate (wind S.E.). Dried sails and towed some Empty water Casks on Shore, got the Derrick up &c. This morning Joe and Davy, being Drunk got fighting together which stoped the work going on as it should do. Davy did no duty the whole day. Tom likewise did no duty. found out the Ships Comp, had broken open the Captains porter Cask and stole 15 bottles, the whole of the Crew in a complete state of Mutiny and insubordination

*December 7th.*

Squalls with flying showers Enpld (?Employed) Unstowing the hold towing water Casks on Shore filling Salt in the Ground tin casks & carpenter empd Caulking the Schooner round the bows the Cooper very Mutinous Daming the Capt. and Mates Eyes and very abusefull

*December 8th.*

Squalls with flying showers Unbent the Jib, Carpenter & People Employed as Yesterday.

*Sunday, December 9th.*

Light winds and fair weather. Cleansed the Schooner and allowed people to go on Shore

*December 10th.*

Fair Weather throughout. Employed drying Sails & Restowing the hold

*December 11th.*

Employed filling water and restowing the hold. Carpenter & Cooper about their own work the Crew refused their Beef as being too little altho' they had exactly the same as the Cutters crew. The Cooper in a most Mutinous Manner declared he had not sufficient to eat and with respect to Grog he said he considered it as much his as mine and that everyone in the ship had a right to an equal share.

*December 12th.*

This Mornng Smith the Yarmouth fisherman as he calls himself brought up the Bread Barge so heaped up as to run the risk of scattering the Contents and on my simply requesting him to be careful he was exceedingly Insolent and when he went forward the Carpenter exclaimd in loud voice that he was saucy and Independant and did not care a damn. It appears to me that the whole Crew are in a state of Mutiny or at least are endeavouring to make a Disturbance so as to Compell me to go to the Northward instead of Southward when I am perfectly convinced they all would leave. I have therefore complied with their Demand at present rather than ruin the Voyage.

*December 13th.*

Light winds and fair weather. Employed filling salt, Carpenter cutting spars, Cooper variously

*December 14th.*

Strong breezes. Employed as yesterday Carpenter making a tiller. Cooper making tubs &c

*December 15th.*

With constant heavy rain Employed watering &c

*December 16th.*

Employed cleaning ship & Constant heavy rain & squally.

*December 17th.*

The forepart dry and fair in the afternoon heavy rain at 4 Saw a Boat coming round Garden Island point fired a Gun & Shewed our Colours. The boat came on board which proved to be a Skinning partys boat on the look out for Skins—and seeing the Vessells—came in to the harbour at dusk they went away again.

*December 18th.*

Fair weather throughout Employed wood & watering Stowing the hold. Got the foreyard & topmast up & Dried Sails, Carpenter making topsail Yard.

The two Captains went round to preservation Bay for oil, but could not find the store house out. left the boat that side and walked across to the Vessells it being late left the boat alongside the Cutter all night in readiness to start Early

*December 19th.*

Strong breeze and clear weather. Employed painting ship at 4 O'Clock Missed the Jolly boat and on looking round saw her along the Cutter and the Whale boat taken away with two Muskets and five men—David Hellon Henry Long Tom Rosarie Doderick McPeal Dennis Driscoll, Sent Mr Paterson across the land to Secure the other boat, and in an hours time both Captains and a boats crew followed—in the Evening they came back with the boat they had left having seen nothing of the Runaway—

*December 20th.*

Strong breezes unbent the Msail and began middle stitching it. Sent the Stay foresail (2d one) on board the Cutter to be converted into a Jib the old one not being worth repairing. Sent the foretop mast down on deck & Undone all the Gear and sowed the fore Yard Cutter fashion—Carpenter & Cooper Cutting spars. this day found out that the Bale of Slopes had been cut open during the night and a Considerable quantity stolen. by the runaways besides Pork bread Tea and Cheeses out of the Store room.

*December 21st.*

Squally with flying showers. Employed Repairing sails &c

*December 22nd.*

Employed about the rigging & Sails wooding &c Showery

*December 23rd.*

Flying Showers with Cloudy Wr the boat gone over to preservation Bay for a few articles we stand in need of—at noon it blowing hard we let go the Second anchor.

*December 24th.*

Do Weather. at daylight hove up the anchors and warped further out and brought up with the best Bower with 45-Fathom chain

*December 25th.*

Strong winds & Cloudy weather. This being Christmas day, no duty was done on board—all hands enjoyed themselves.

*December 26th.*

Strong Gales, at daylight let go the Second Anchor—Employed variously about the Rigging &c.

\*N.B. at 3 the Captn struck the Mate before all hands on the Quarter deck for nothing.

*December 27th.*

Strong breezes. bent Mainsail and Jib, fitted Gear of the fore yd Jackstay &c. and filled a cask of water

*December 28th.*

Strong Gales. Employed lashing the Spars Cutting wood and preparing for Sea. this Morning a boat came Round from preservation bay.

*December 29th.*

Do Wr Preparing for Sea. Getting wood off & Got up the new warp ready to heave out if the wind should lull—Shipped two hands from the boat to go the voyage.

*December 30th.*

at Daylight hove short up to the 2d Anchor and warped the Cutter to a fair way birth, at 10 A.M. Got

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\*N.B.—The above remark is "lie." Capt. Balleny took the Mate by the collar for being exceedingly Drunk on Christmas day and exceedingly Insolent the day following & told him, he would bundle him forward but did not strike him as the Mate states. (This is a footnote, in a different handwriting, in the Journal. The Author.)

under weigh and worked out of the harbour at 4 P.M. Came to anchor in preservation bay—this day William Smith refused to do his duty, Strong breezes with hail &c.

*December 31st.*

Squally weather with flying showers. Employed cutting firewood Wm Smith went to his work this day

*January 1st, 1839.*

Fair weather throughout, filled a cask of water, got a boat load of wood Got the Whale boat from the Settlement and gave them the Jolly boat, hoisted the boats in and prepared for Sea.

*January 2nd.*

Strong breezes with Rain the forepart of the day, at 6 A.M. weighed and made sail from preservation bay at 11 abreast of Solanders Island at 3.30 P.M. Abreast of passage Island at 9 Came to an anchor in Patterson River in 20 fathom water and 60 fathom chain—

*January 3rd.*

Strong Gales with flying showers. Employed variously

*January 4th.*

Strong breezes with flying showers, took in two boat loads of wood and put in down aft to trim ship. in the Morning got a boat out and went on board the Cutter in answer to the Signal found that three men had deserted during the night. in the Morning they were brought back and sent on board the Cutter Shipped three hands and hoisted the boat in and secured her in readiness to go Sea.

*January 5th.*

Strong Gales with flying showers. Got the boat out to go for the peoples cloathes. Got the close-reefed points Sewed in the Sails and at 7, hoisted the boat in.



*January 6th.*

Strong gales & Endeavored to get under weigh but finding it to blow to hard desisted, in the Eg Capt Freeman onboard, it still blowing hard with showers of hail & rain at intervals.

*January 7th.*

at 6 A.M. Weighed and made all possibl sail in Company with the Cutter an (? at) noon Fresh breeze took in 1s Reef sails, Southern port bearing W.S.W, Distant about 9 Leagues. at 8 P.M. Squally—took in 2 Reef sails at midnight Do Weather. Cutter on the Lee bow

*January 8th.*

Squalls with flying showers; at 6 A.M. set the square sail; at 8 spoke the Cutter; longitude by chrór 169° 8' E. took in Square sail and Set the Fore & aft sails; at noon out all reefs &c

Latt Obs, 49° 28' South.

Light airs & clear weather with a heavy swell from the N.W.

at 4 P.M. Longe in 169° .22' .0" E.

at Midnight Do Wr.

*January 9th.*

2 A.M. Strong breezes and clear Weather. took in one reefsails; at 8 in 2nd Reef—do—do.

Longe by Chronomr 168° .58' .0" E

at noon more moderate, out one reef Mnsail foresail & f Sy sail.

Lattitude obsd, 51° 16' South

Squally with a heavy cross Sea running.

at 4 Longe in 168° .56' .30" E

at Midnight Moderate, out all Reefs.

*January 10th.*

Light winds and clear Wr

at 3 A M Saw the land; at 6 Calm; at 8 Long. by chrór 168° .55' .45" E

at 9 Captn Freeman came onboard. Light airs & clear  
Wr

Lattd by Obsn  $52^{\circ} 26'$  South

at 1 P.M. Capn Freeman went on Shore and saw the  
men that was left on shore here 4 years Since by the  
*New Zealander*; at 7 Capt Freeman returned.

Fair weather. Stood off to the N.W.

at Midnight strongwinds with rain and thick Wr  
Wore ship and Stood to the Eastward.

*January 11th.*

took in two reefs of the Sails

at 8 A.M. it clearing off Saw the land bearing S by W  
about 10 Leagues hauled up for the Island and spoke the  
Cutter at noon Steady breezes and clear out all reefs &c

Lattd Obs— $52^{\circ} .30'$  South

at 7 P.M. Came to an anchor in perseverance harbour  
in 9 fathom, Steady breezes and Clear Weather.

*January 12th.*

at Daylight Got the boats out and sent one from each  
Vessell to see what they could Get, Got the peoples Skins  
on board and filled our water up & 32 Green Skins 133  
Dried Skins—in the Evening the Boats returned with  
one hair Skin

*January 13th.*

Strong Gales and clear Wr. finished filling our water  
up and prepared for Sea

at noon came on to rain with thick foggy weather.

*January 14th.*

Strong Gales with Constant rain & thick weater took  
three men and one woman of the Island. Sent two on  
board of the Cutter, hoisted the boat and prepared for  
Sea.

*January 15th.*

Strong gales with thick fog & heavy rain hove short  
and Double reefed the Sails the Cutter weighed first and

bore up if (?it) blowing so very hard and such a tremendous Sea running. Stowed the Sails and held all in readiness to weigh should the wind lull or the fog clear off. Got the 2d Anchor clear & Secured the Boats and cleared the decks up.

*January 16th.*

Heavy gales with thick fog. Close reefed the Sails and hove short, but not being able to purchase Anchor, gave her more chain and furled Sails this day the Cooper refused his duty, in the Evening he returned to his work

*January 17th.*

at 6 weighed and made Sail, weather moderate & hazy  
at 8.30 Spoke the Brig *Emma* Lying in the Entrance of the port—at noon the centre of the Island W N W about 5 Leagues. Latt Obsd.  $52^{\circ} .46' .17''$  South the wind worked round to the Southd at 8 P.M. Centre of Cambells Island W N W 10 Leagues

## APPENDIX "G."

### WATKIN'S JOURNAL, 1840.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE REVD. JAMES WATKIN,  
THE FIRST EUROPEAN PREACHER STATIONED IN THE  
SOUTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

*(Kindly supplied by the Rev. Dr. Edwin J. Watkin of  
St. Kilda, Melbourne, with permission to publish herein.)*

*May 1st, 1840.*

This day we left Sydney to take our appointment in New Zealand, tho' not the exact appointment given by the Committee the place to which we are proceeding being in the Middle (or South Island as it is called) and which place is called Waikouaiti a whaling station belonging to Mr. John Jones Ship owner of Sydney, who with a princely liberality towards our Society, and a Christian concern for the welfare of the Natives has offered to give land for the Mission Station, to convey the Missionary, his goods and stores free of charge and £50 Sterling towards the commencement of the Mission. . . . We were accompanied to the ship by a considerable number of the excellent friends in Sydney, among whom was Mr. and Mrs. Weiss, Mrs. and Master Matthews, Mesdames Iredale, Orton &c. &c., besides the Revd. Messrs. McKenny, Schofield, and Webb, and Mr. and Mrs. Jones and part of their family, it was a painful parting from very very dear friends. . . . The vessel's name is the *Regia*, and a more comfortable one could hardly have been found, our accomodations are of the first order, and everything Mr. Jones could do to make us comfortable has been done, his kindness cannot be overpraised. Our friends accompanied

us to the Heads a distance from the anchorage of six miles. . . . Three cheers were given, as the boat with our friends left us and returned by the ship's company, the pilot after taking us out, took his leave, and we once more launched upon the open sea, and soon left New South Wales behind us. . . .

*May 2nd.*

Land out of sight tho' it is high, and our vessel not the quickest sailor on the sea. . . . The poor horses, cattle and sheep on board seem to suffer a good deal from the violent motion of the vessel. Neither are the passengers the most comfortable, and from the same cause. The passengers are ourselves and a young man of amiable manners.

*May 10th.*

We have seen one vessel but did not speak her. She appeared to be bound for some port in N.Z. more northerly than ours. . . .

*May 12th.*

Last night was one of storms and being at no great distance from the land one of considerable anxiety. We were hove to (as the sailors term it) good part of the night, and considerable alarm was occasioned about 5 o'clock in the morning by "a light" being announced, the captain was roused, the ship put about with no small noise but the light turned out to be the morning star, we were far enough away from the mainland. Soon after six o'clock Solander Island was seen on the weather bow distant 9 or 10 miles. This was a glad sight, as it indicates the entrance to Foveaux's Straits through which we have to pass. The Straits are bounded on the South by Stewart's and a number of small islands, and on the North by the Middle Island of the group, which is generally called New Zealand. We entered the Straits with a staggering breeze but before we had quite cleared them, the wind died away, which had well nigh proved fatal to the *Regia*, the captain not having passed them before kept well to the eastward hoping thereby to clear all danger but by so doing ran into it, for at 10



o'clock Island after Island appeared in fearful proximity as the wind was dying away, and the appalling sound (and sight too) of breakers grated on our ears. For some hours we were in extreme jeopardy. . . . We were drifted by the current past the danger, for wind there was none. . . . After a while a little breeze sprang up and we were removed to a distance from the rocks, and out of the heaving of the surf, the roar of which is awful even when you are on shore, but when on board it is most awful. . . .

*May 15th.*

For the last three days we have been off the coast of New Zealand, but owing to calms and contrary winds we have not been able to make much progress, or we should have been at anchor ere this in our own or a neighbouring port. We are now off Otago distant from the place of our destination only 12 miles, we can distinctly see the heads of the harbour but there is a dead calm, so that we make little progress except the drifting occasioned by the current which we fear will carry us past if a wind should not spring up, it is tantalising not to be able to get in tho' so near. . . .

*May 16th.*

We are now at anchor in the harbour of Waikouaiti, last evening the calm was succeeded by a very strong breeze, and having been boarded by some of the people from Mr. Jones Whaling Station at that place, we made for the harbour and about 7 o'clock had our anchor down, which was a cause of rejoicing to us, as it terminated our voyage, the harbour is an open one and much exposed, as we found before the night was over, the wind was very strong and came in fearful gusts, making the vessel labour as much as if she had been in a heavy sea with a heavy wind. The strain was so great upon the anchor that the chain parted and about 10 o'clock the unpleasant announcement was made "the chain has parted and the vessel is drifting." The roaring of the wind, the dashing of the rain, and the hissing of the water as the vessel made stern way, added to the roar of

the breakers to leeward, produced a sensation in my mind which will not soon be forgotten; the second anchor was let go and all the chain that could be was given her (ninety fathoms) but with slight hopes that she would be able to ride by it until the morning; so that we had the melancholy prospect before us of being compelled to get out to sea again if we could and if not to go ashore with the certainty of the vessel being dashed to pieces, even if our lives should have been saved. Thro' mercy the wind moderated about twelve o'clock tho' it continued to blow hard all night, the chain held and in the morning I had my first view of the scene of my labour. We were soon visited by the people from the Shore English and Natives, and as far as looks and gestures went, I could see that they were well pleased at the arrival of a Missionary among them. For New Zealanders they appeared to me to be docile. I hope they will ere long be Christians. About noon we got ashore, and found miserable lodgings in a house which Mr. Jones had intended for us solely, but which we found occupied by his brother, who made us as comfortable as he could. . . .

*May 17th (Sunday).*

This day I held a service in English which was pretty well attended by the men from the whaling gang, some of the agriculturists sent down here by Mr. Jones and a considerable number of Natives who of course could not understand me. I opened my commission in New Zealand by preaching from the old fashioned text 1 Tim. I. 15. This is a fearful saying. The attention paid was great. May the word spoken not have been in vain. Amen.

*May 18th.*

Went to-day to Mataina (Matanaka), the agricultural settlement where it was said my house was built. I found the house totally inadequate to the reception of my family for size, and that living there would defeat the great object of my coming to New Zealand, namely, the spiritual welfare of the aboriginal inhabitants. I determined not to reside

there and to get a temporary residence of some kind in Waikouaiti itself, which I have some hope of being able to accomplish. Much inconvenience and some privations will have to be endured. . . . Those who commence a New Mission in a barbarous country must make up their minds to suffer something perhaps many things, and especially when there is a large family of small children.

*May 20th.*

We have found a site for a house and a Native house in an unfinished condition which may be rendered tenantable at a small expense of materials and time and the carpenters are to be set to work to floor part of it and weatherboard the sides, it will look miserable enough when done, but we will be under our own roof and more a most desirable thing for comfort sake and our family welfare. The house stands on a considerable elevation and commands beautiful prospects every way. . . .

*May 24th.*

We have not had a public service this day, the day being very stormy preventing the people from assembling and the house in which we are being too small to accomodate many. In the evening I had a service with my own and part of Mr. T. Jones family.

*May 26th.*

This day we have taken possession of our house or rather hut, the whole of it not too large for two people, into which seven of us must cram with some indispensable articles of furniture, and then we must do our best until we can enlarge our borders. . . .

*May 30th.*

Have been very busy for the last few days in getting our little hut into order unpacking, placing &c. We have plenty of visitants but they hinder rather than help, and I am sorry to find from the little I have been able to pick of the N.Z. language that it differs very materially from

the language spoken in the North Island, this will involve much labour and much expense for as the books printed at the Mission press Hokianga will be of very little service here; it will be necessary to begin afresh and form the alphabet, and write this hitherto unwritten language. I have read from the New Zealand Testament published at Paihia, but it appears a strange language to this people. Many of the words have considerable resemblance to words spoken here but others are quite distinct. I don't think there will be any need here for the foolish "gna" of the Northern Island.

*May 31st.*

Another Lords Day, the third of our residence in this strange land, in the afternoon I had a service in the English language the carpenters shop was fitted up for the occasion and I had an excellent and attentive congregation of my own countrymen, to whom I recommended righteousness of life from the death of the righteous being so desirable. A considerable number of the Natives were present to witness the "karakia bora" (the English mode of worship) I hope soon to be able to make known unto them in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

*June 5th.*

I have collected words and phrases to the amount of nearly four hundred, tho' I cannot say that I have them all in my memory, I am increasing in a knowledge of the language daily and what with the broken English of the Natives and what I have acquired I can manage to understand and make myself understood on common subjects. The inhabitants of this Island in common with some savages are very superstitious, their faith in the power of their priests is slavish, and all sickness is ascribed to supernatural or perhaps infernal agency. Taipo being the supposed author of the disease whatever it may be. Taipo is a foreign word, its native place and etymology I cannot trace, but as it appears to mean the Devil and is of universal use I shall not disturb it. These people have many gods, an old

Chief gave me to understand the other day that there were plenty tens, and then lifting up his hands and repeating ten ten ten many times over. . . .

*June 7th (Whit Sunday).*

I conducted two English Services at which I read a considerable portion of the Liturgy in the morning at Matiainak (Matanaka) where the agriculturists in the employ of Mr. Jones are located a number of whom attended the Service, and a much greater number of Natives who were very attentive tho' they could not understand a word that was said. The afternoon service was at this place (Waikouaiti) and a mixed congregation as at the other place. I dwelt upon subjects suitable to the day. It is a pleasing circumstance that the natives have begun to abstain from work on the Lords day, from the very imperfect manner in which I have been able to set forth the claims of that day to sanctity.

I have begun to dispense medicine, and during the cold time shall have plenty to do I fear. We feel the change very much ourselves from the dry and warm atmosphere of Sydney to the damp and cold of N.Z.

*June 8th.*

Have nothing remarkable to note respecting this day unless it be that we have got our little hut floored with plank, the earth floor was both damp and cold, and which was felt acutely by us who have been ten years without feeling intense cold, but especially our children who have most of them been born within the tropics and feel the cold of these high southern latitudes to be intense.

I am still at the language but it is not very easy work to act the pioneer in this respect. I do not regret that I have to do it, but rejoice in it as I shall do something towards smoothing the path of others. May the giver of wisdom give me wisdom.



*June 14th.*

I am making progress in the N.Z. language. I pick up words and phrases with considerable facility. The New Zealanders here are heathens deteriorated by their connection with wicked whites, and I feel them sufficiently trying particularly in trading for the articles we want for household consumption, such as potatoes and firewood. They are exorbitant in their demands, this I suppose is caused in some measure by two rival trading establishments, one at this place, another at Otago about 12 miles distant, a place rivalling in proportion to its population the Bay of Islands in wickedness than which the Sun shines not on a worse in the whole world.

At Otago some few months ago, a Native shot a white man in a drunken squabble, the whites on the coast of whom there is a considerable number insisted on the New Zealander being put to death, and collected at that place for the purpose, when it was determined that he should be sent to Sydney for trial, but before this could be carried into execution, he put a period to his own existence and to that of his wife in the same moment. The account is that he dressed himself in his best clothes, and tho' in irons managed to possess himself of a loaded musket, he then his wife sitting behind him and clasping his body, pulled the trigger with his toes and the shot passed thro' his own heart and into (that) of his wife killing them both. It is supposed that fear of being hanged in Sydney led him to perpetrate suicide, but had he gone to Sydney, he would either have been acquitted or found guilty of manslaughter under circumstances which would have mitigated the sentence to its lowest degree.

The white men almost generally are living with native women and my coming here is looked upon rather suspiciously by them, for they know enough of Xy to be aware that if it prevails they must marry the women or lose them. Another objection to the Missionary is that it will make the Natives too knowing i.e. in matter of trade, but from the specimens I have had already, I think my duty would be

to make them less knowing. If they increase their knowledge of this kind this will be a most expensive mission indeed.

*June 16th (?15th)\*.*

Yesterday I preached twice in English to small but attentive congregations in the morning at Matainach (Matanaka) to which I was conveyed in a whaleboat by the kindness of two American captains who had come the preceeding night from Otago for the purpose of attending religious worship. I had a better congregation there than on the preceeding Sunday and the people there appear anxious that I should continue to visit them, which I purpose doing every Lords Day morning weather permitting. In the afternoon I preached at this place and read part of the Liturgy. I had Americans, Australians, English and New Zealanders in my congregation. The attention paid was great by all present. I am sorry to have to report that the conduct of the whites is worse in reference to the Lords day than that of the natives themselves, the latter do no work on that day and will I confidently hope be brought ere long to a religious observance of the day.

[As the South Island was "Proclaimed" on 17th June, further entries are outside the scope of this work. The Author.]

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\*The journal was evidently written up on Monday. Sunday should be June 14th according to the other dates. The Waikouaiti mentioned throughout the narrative is not the present town of that name but the old whaling station at the mouth of the river. (The Author).

## PERSONAL INDEX

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